

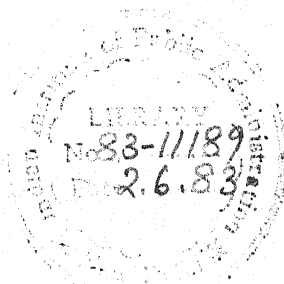
REGIONAL PROGRAMME
ON
NEW TRENDS IN THE TRAINING OF DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATORS
9 - 28 MAY 1983
NEW DELHI

BACKGROUND PAPERS
VOL. I

IIPA LIBRARY



11189



UNITED NATIONS
ASIAN & PACIFIC DEVELOPMENT CENTRE
KUALA LUMPUR

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
DEPARTMENT OF PERSONNEL & ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS
NEW DELHI

AND

THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
INDRAPRASTHA ESTATE, RING ROAD,
NEW DELHI-110002

CONTENTS

		<u>Page</u>
1. Humanizing Development: Promises, Problems, and Prospects	R.P. Misra	1 - 34
2. Development Programmes: Concept and Scope	Samuel Paul	35 - 50
3. Institution-building for Training	T.N. Chaturvedi	51 - 61
4. The Emergence of Management Development Institutions in Developing Countries	United Nations	62 - 72
5. Management Performance for Rural Development: Packaged Training or Capacity Building	George H. Honadle John P. Hannah	73 - 92
6. Training for Senior Civil Servants and Public Administrators in Decision-Making for Technical Choice	D.E.P. Jenkins	93 - 106
7. The Role of Training in Improving the Organization and Administration of Agricultural Services to Small Farmers	S. Ramakrishnan A. McCallum	107 - 119

HUMANIZING DEVELOPMENT
PROMISES, PROBLEMS, AND PROSPECTS*

BY
R.P. MISRA

* FROM HUMANIZING DEVELOPMENT - ESSAYS ON PEOPLE, SPACE AND DEVELOPMENT
IN HONOUR OF MASAHIKO HONJO. 1981. MARUZEN ASIA.

INTRODUCTION

Man is the measure of all things. It is not the power of a nation - state - economic or military - nor industrialization, urbanization nor modernization: it is the happiness of man that ultimately counts. The development of a country must, therefore, be seen as the sum total of the satisfying lives of millions of men and women who constitute its citizenry. The final goal of development is to obtain a life worth living.

Thus far, there is no controversy. The current debate on development is not centred on this final goal. It centres on two questions: (a) what constitutes a life worth living, and (b) what means should be adopted to achieve it?

Three schools of thought, with some interfacing ideals and ideas deserve our attention. According to the first school, a "life worth living" is one which has the highest per capita income possible; which has the maximum range of consumer goods; which values this in terms of money and whose relations are contractual and formal. It sees no limits to economic growth as there could be no limits to human ingenuity in the control of nature. The second school sees increasing poverty in the midst of plenty as a sign of limits to what economic growth can achieve and therefore advocates increased emphasis on equity, i.e, the strategies of economic growth must have built-in substrategies which distribute evenly the fruits of growth to nations and peoples who are unable to benefit from the grinding mill of growth. It is estimated that, if the current trends continue, there will be a greater number of poor people in the world in 2000 A D than in 1981. A number of strategies have therefore been suggested for reversing this trend before it is too late. The third school advocates a steady state (or zero

growth) economy once material welfare has reached a level beyond which it can add nothing to human welfare in real terms. It is against consumerism and all that is considered "a must" for the so-called modern economy - specialization, concentration, centralization, maximization and the dehumanization of work. It calls for a culture-specific development process wherein economic growth is subordinated to the dictates of "a life worth living".

Within each of these three schools there are divergencies in approach. Some look at the issues from an international perspective, others from a national perspective; some are more utopian than others while still others are realistic in varying degrees. The main object of this paper is to review concisely how these three schools of thought look at the concept of development. The paper does not aim at offering a new model for development; it only hopes to clarify some of the issues pertinent to the ongoing debate. Given the present world order, the depth of poverty prevailing in the under-developed countries, and the increasing social disruption in the developed countries, it does however lean towards a more humanistic approach to the development process.

DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Enough has been written on how economic development was triggered-off in Europe, then in the United States and later in the Soviet Union, as a consequence of the Industrial Revolution in England and the Netherlands. It is still, however, an enigma for all those who are in search of a "General Theory of Development". A peculiar cluster of events in specific circumstances, which were neither anticipated nor planned, took place. May be some of those events took place elsewhere too, but not in the same sequence or in the same setting as that which led to the Industrial Revolution in Europe. We may never know what caused the Industrial Revolution, but even if we do, it would have only minor significance for planners and policy-makers now - for it is impossible to recapture or transplant specific historical processes from one country to another.

Protestant ethic, we were told in our school days, was the prime mover. It meant frugality, individualism, love of freedom, a scientific

attitude, and so on. But now we are told that the confucian ethic is also good because Japan, the Republic of Korea and Taiwan have also succeeded in developing their economies. China has made good progress and Vietnam was able to defeat the United States, the greatest military power in the world. If, for some reason, India's economy started to grow at an accelerated rate, the Hindu ethic may also be added to this list. One wonders why the Catholic ethic has not yet been mentioned because resource-rich Brazil and Mexico are indicating signs of growth, and why has Islamic ethic not yet been accredited for the growing economies of the oil-rich countries of West Asia? What it really means is that we really do not know what generates development. We can only interpret the event after it has taken place. The social sciences are still methodologically too weak to predict the course of human destiny.

For the industrialization of the nonindustrialized world it is not necessary to create the same conditions which prevailed in England and the Netherlands prior to the Industrial Revolution. The entire social economic history of mankind since its epoch-making change has become our common heritage. This heritage is part and parcel of the new environment in which social and economic development is being attempted in the developing countries. The Soviet Union, though late in launching industrialization, devised a new social organization to meet the challenges of the time as the United States had done much earlier. Japan is a classic example of a truly unique style of development, purely national in character. There is, thus, no ethic involved. Each culture provides avenues and opportunities for social and economic change; for peace and war; for self-destruction or a life really worth living.

What cuts across all so-called ethics in the process of economic development triggered-off by industrialization is the access to resources (natural and financial) and technology. Any country which has both of these in abundance can become a mighty industrial power within half-a-century. It need not take 200 years to industrialize itself, nor does it need to employ the Protestant ethic, the confucian ethic or the

Islamic ethic¹ To talk about ethics is to avoid the main issue which hinders the economic development of less-developed countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Just 200 years ago, there were no marked differences in the economic well-being of different people throughout all parts of the world. The level of development in the way it is conceived of today was definitely low, but it does not mean that people were necessarily less happy than they are today (happiness is, after all, a state of mind). In these 200 years, more than half the population has regressed to a stage where it does not have enough to eat; a quarter of the world's population is only just managing to meet the bare essentials, while the remaining quarter suffers from the burden of affluence. Herman Kahn said that all will be prosperous within the next 200² but since he said that, three years ago, the gap between the rich and poor has further widened.³ Data indicating the increasing disparities among rich and poor nations, as well as the increasing inequities within nations are too well-known to need repeating here.

This unprecedented inequity is the aftermath of the Industrial Revolution and the pattern of economic growth it triggered-off. It is not the chain of events which led to the Industrial Revolution which facilitated this inequity but the sequence of events which resulted from it which became responsible for widening opportunities for people at all levels of society. But had it not been for the colonial penetration of Africa, Asia, Australia and Latin America the story of economic development would have been very different. The idea of bringing up this issue is not to caricature the Industrial Revolution or Western-

-
1. Within twenty-five years of his birth, a boy, whose parents still live a very primitive lifestyle in the backwoods of Arunachal Pradesh in eastern India, was able to pilot a sophisticated jet bomber in the Indian Air Force. He was neither imbued with the Protestant Ethic nor the Hindu Ethic, the Confucian Ethic or the Islamic Ethic. It was the Machine Ethic and the basic capacity of all human beings to adapt to new conditions through learning and unlearning processes which transformed this young man.
 2. Herman Kahn et al., *The Next 200 years* (London: Associated Business Programmes, 1976).
 3. Herman Kahn, *World Economic Development: 1979 and Beyond* (New York: Morrow Quill, 1979).

style economic development but to suggest that such development could not have taken place without the following prerequisites:

1. Occupation by force of vast resource-rich lands in the Americas, Australia, Siberia, South Africa, etc.
2. Colonization of agriculturally rich countries for which raw materials could be obtained and to which manufactured goods could be sold at prices determined by the colonial power; and
3. Obstructing the spread of Industrial Revolution to regions outside Europe and Anglo-America.

Extraordinary though it may seem, no nation lacking an abundant natural resource base or extensive colonies rich in resources has become industrialized except where it chose to become an indirect colony of a superpower. Included in the resource-rich countries are the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. These are countries which were incorporated in Greater Europe; they were not colonized in the same way as the countries of Asia and Africa. The case of Latin America is similar, although not exactly the same. It must be mentioned here that Japan, the only nation to catch up with the West, is no exception to this. One doubts whether Japan could have done all it did in the pre-Second World War period without its overseas colonies.

Quite a few nations, rich in petroleum resources, are industrializing fast, despite various hurdles, direct or indirect put in their way by the industrialized countries. These countries have become rich not because of any Industrial revolution in the sense that it occurred in the West, but by gaining control of their oil wealth hitherto denied them by the West. One is struck by the fact that all the so-called middle income countries (according to World Bank classifications) are the resource-rich countries, and all the very poor countries which are categorized as low income countries are resource-poor countries.

The Republic of Korea and Taiwan do not have rich resources of their own. But in these cases because of their very peculiar place in the East-West confrontation, investment resources from the United States and Japan especially, flowed into them after 1950. Their economies are

almost completely integrated with those of the West. The share of foreign capital in the Republic of Korea's economy is staggeringly high by any standard.

Thus when Europe started developing, it had the resources of the whole world at its disposal and at a price determined by it. It also had the whole world as its captive market in which to sell its goods and, above all, it had the Americas, Asia, Australia and part of Africa to send its excess population. It was a few entrepreneurs who started the process of industrialization but within a century it had engulfed the entire population. History was so written that every European was endowed with Protestant Ethic and was therefore a hero. Some of the historical jokes that were written at the time, such as Columbus being the discoverer of America, persist to this day, in our text books and encyclopedias.

This is not to suggest that it was rich resources which triggered-off the Industrial Revolution. Far from it, the idea being advanced here is that once the Industrial Revolution took root in its rudimentary terms, it was the abundance of resources together with ample markets which made European nations what they are today. Europe (including the USA) became the core region of the world to which resources came, from the periphery. In turn, manufactured goods went out to the periphery, setting in motion an exploitative interdependence between Europe and the colonies.

What the newly independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America need today is the cessation of, if not the reversal of, this exploitative relationship. Now that a few of these countries have developed their economies to the level whereby they can threaten a nuclear holocaust to protect their national interests in terms of the abovementioned relationship, the need for a change is even more pressing and implementation of such a change is possibly the greatest challenge facing the world community today.

Is it possible to evolve new world order whereby the fundamental interest of the developed countries are well protected and yet the exploitative nature of their relationship with the developing countries

is removed, giving way to a cooperative one? Can the developed countries lower their expenditure on lethal armament manufacture and aimless pursuit of growth and transfer part of the saving to developing countries to aid in their industrializing processes - not so much in order for them to challenge the developed nations but in order for them to begin the self-sustaining development process? The answers to these questions will determine the shape of the world in the years to come.¹

DEVELOPMENT DEBATE AND THE CHALLENGES OF THE 1980s

The model of economic development which emerged after the Industrial Revolution assumed resources to be provided. This assumption was derived from the real context in which the capitalist mode of production expanded during the two centuries prior to the Second World War. While the Industrial Revolution changed the mode of production,

from the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century sprang the idea of the perfectability of man, the product not of any divine intervention but of a deliberate social process..... And, notwithstanding the traumatic experience of the 'Industrial Revolution' in Britain, the notion of progress as a continuing process, the product of man's ingenuity and purpose took root in society well before the middle of the nineteenth century.⁴

The notion was further strengthened as science and technology released the latent power of the human mind to usher in new processes of production modes of transportation and communication and increased trade through colonization and subjugation of other nationalities abroad.

The belief in an economic panacea for all the ills of mankind and faith in science and technology as the twin-engines to generate economic growth were further strengthened in the first half of the twentieth century. And apart from some problem and occasional back-slidings, the growth engine did perform well. The fuel (external resources) was so abundant, the mechanical system, thanks to science and technology, so

4. E.J. Misha, *The Economic Growth Debate: An Assessment* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1977, p.25.

perfected, and the market for products so wide open (the whole world was a captive market) that nothing could misfire. Abject poverty which had been the lot of the European masses, was almost eliminated by 1940, minor pockets here and there notwithstanding. The basic material needs of all the people were largely met, although relatively speaking only a few were rich.

The disparities in personal income, assets and earning capacities were rationalized on the grounds that those who organize production - the capitalists, the managers, the entrepreneurs, and the technocrats - had to get their due rewards. Whatever was left should belong to labour. But as production zoomed further, and labour became more organized, these disparities narrowed down considerably to make even the common man realize that nothing could be achieved without continued economic growth.

The October Revolution in the Soviet Union in 1917 produced a new model of economic growth. It was through state capitalism, run and managed by the labouring class (proletariat), that growth was promoted. Marx predicted the natural death of Western capitalism because of its inner contradictions. The labouring class would one day rise to take over the system. Marx prophesized that the growth engine would then run faster and smoother and man would become fully emancipated socially as well as economically from the clutches of capitalism. Thus Communist ideology too put its faith in economic growth, although its ultimate goal was to create a New Man.

The Second World War culminated in the defeat of the Axis powers. It also ended old-style colonialism. There were three reasons for this. In the first place, the colonies which were rich and where the white man had established its numerical superiority (USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and parts of Latin America) were already free. Those in Asia and Africa were, by then, so poor, overcrowded and weak that they were not worth the trouble as colonies any more. They had served their purpose well. Secondly, the colonial powers were so weakened and disgusted with the war that they did not have the courage to fight against the rising tide of nationalism in the colonies. And those who had the temerity to fight ultimately had to beg for a peaceful

withdrawal (for example, the French in Indo-China, the Portuguese in Africa and the British in Kenya). And finally it was feared that any further delay in granting independence to the freedom movements would drive the nations closer to the Soviet Union - an allied power during the Second World War, but an adversary during the ensuing Cold War period.

As soon as the colonies attained independence, barring a few, they adopted the Soviet mode of planning, but the Western mode of production. These plans invariably aimed at rapid economic growth. Quite a few of them also called for a variety of institutional reforms, but in operational terms this boiled down to one aim - the fastest possible economic growth. Some countries envisaged 15 per cent growth, others were more realistically aiming at 7 per cent. But no country aimed for less than 5 per cent growth, which entailed a doubling of the GDP in fourteen years.

The growth mentality became so pervasive that it acquired synonymy with virtue. If a country's economy was slow-moving, it was because it could not manage itself; its people were ill-prepared, politically naive, uncultured and corrupt. But if the growth rate was high, then there was something great in that country. A military dictatorship of the worst form acquired virtue if it could promote growth, no matter how many people it put in jail without trial or how many people were shot dead without even a preliminary hearing. And a country following a liberal democratic or socialist path became an outcast if it failed to push up the growth rate high enough to be considered respectable. Economic growth and development became synonymous terms and countries were labelled as developed or underdeveloped purely on the basis of their achievements in terms of GDP and per capita income.

Economic growth became the standard measure for power, strength and virtue, not only at the international level but also at the national and subnational levels. One of the major weapons of opposition parties (wherever they existed) against the ruling party was the low rate of economic growth, and since low and high were qualitative and relative terms, one could always accuse the other of a poor performance. Today,

economic growth is the most powerful ideology that governs societal behaviour in the developing countries.

Despite the heroic efforts of the developing countries in the post-Second World War period to accelerate the growth rates of their economies, the gap between rich and poor countries continues to widen. The rich are becoming richer and poor are becoming poorer in real terms. While the growth men still assert that

...two hundred years ago almost everywhere human beings were comparatively few, poor and at the mercy of the forces of nature, and 200 years from now, we expect, almost everywhere they will be numerous rich and in control of the forces of nature.⁵

The fact is that today there are more poor people in the world than there were yesterday, and each day the burden of world poverty is not only spreading fast horizontally but growing fast vertically. The growth men say that in the long run every country will be equal and rich, but the developing countries now feel that they will disintegrate as nation states or be colonized by the same group of countries which released them from bondage just a decade or so ago if current trends continue. It is a question of tomorrow, not 1200 years hence.

More and more countries have now come to realize that given the capitalist model of development, they cannot accelerate economic growth without substantial investment in farms and factories. But the investment resources are mostly concentrated in the developed countries. Developing countries also realize that the political independence they gained did not emancipate them economically and they have to continue functioning in an international economic and political framework which favours the rich countries at the cost of the poor ones. In order to benefit from this framework they have to give up much of their political independence and are forced to ally themselves completely with one of the superpowers. Many developing countries have already taken this course of action.

5. Herman Kahn, World Economic Development, p.2

While the developing countries have faltered on the economic front, the developed countries have not done well on the social and environmental fronts. There is growing disillusionment due to the over indulgence in materialistic pursuits leading to environmental deterioration and social disruption. The disillusionment is further heightened as the growth engine has slowed down, even in developed countries, generating inflation and unemployment to unprecedented levels in recent years.

While the search for viable strategies to accelerate economic growth continues in the developing countries, two very visible trends have emerged in the developed countries. While the European countries, perhaps because of their age and maturity, are keen to participate in a dialogue to evolve a more equitable economic order, in the United States the tendency is to try to preserve the status quo at any cost, which in effect means maintaining the supremacy of the United States in all spheres of life.

During the 1950s, almost all developed countries extended economic assistance to the developing countries in the form of grants or concessional loans. The amounts were never large enough to be called a massive transfer of resources. But even those amounts have decreased. Realizing that some of the developing countries were entering the market as manufacturers, the developed countries have now put various kinds of indirect barriers to protect their sagging economies. Added to this is an inequitable international economic order which still favours the developed countries.

Thus, one of the reasons why the resource-poor developing countries have not been able to fair well in matters of economic growth is not necessarily because they are incapable of handling their problems. It is largely because the international context in which they are trying to develop does not allow them to grow fast. The conditions of development are the opposite of those which the West European countries and the United States faced in the nineteenth century. This explains largely the deepening economic and social crises in many of the developing countries.

Something else has also happened which makes the situation worse. Even though poverty among the masses continues to increase, the economies of the developing countries have not been at a complete standstill. Some progress has been made. Much of the benefit accruing from its progress had however gone to only a small minority of the educated elite, viz., industrialists, businessmen, contractors, government servants, employees of private firms and of course, politicians. It happened in the developed countries too, in the early stages of their development, but the resources were so abundant, and opportunities for the export of goods so favourable that this minority group expanded rapidly to cover the entire population within a span of 100 years. The same cannot be expected to happen in the developing countries now, for the reasons already explained.

Apparently the developing countries chose a misfit model for their development. For a development model to be considered good or bad, depends entirely on the situation and context in which it is applied. The Western capitalistic model gives good results only so long as the resources are cheap and the markets are wide open. Neither of these two conditions apply today. However, the realization on the part of the developing countries that they chose mistaken models for their development has yet to occur, it seems. But more and more countries, and more and more people are now questioning the efficacy of this model for development and have started searching for other models more appropriate to their specific conditions.

At the same time the anti-growth movement has become stronger in the developed countries. It started with the concern about environmental deterioration and resource depletion. Increasing pollution of air, water, soil and foodstuffs and a deterioration in the whole quality of life; the looming scarcity of mineral energy and other resources; the headlong rush to consume them, in the manufacture of more and more goods which add nothing to the quality of life of people; all these factors started a trend towards questioning the wisdom of continued and unlimited economic growth. In 1955 von Neumann remarked:

The great globe itself is in a rapidly maturing crisis - a crisis attributable to the fact that the environment in which

technological progress must occur has become both undersized and underorganized... In the first half of this century... this safety... was essentially a matter of geographical and political Lebensraum: an ever broader geographical scope for technological activities, combined with an even broader political integration of the world. Within this expanding framework it was possible to accommodate the major tensions created by technological progress.

Now this safety mechanism is being sharply inhibited; literally and figuratively, we are running out of room. At long last, we begin to feel the effects of the finite, actual size of the earth in a critical way.

Thus the crisis does not arise from accidental event or human errors. It is inherent in technology's relation to geography on the one hand and to political organization on the other... in the years between now and the 1980s the crisis will probably develop far beyond all earlier patterns. When or how it will end - or to what state of affairs it will yield nobody can say.⁶

The growth proponents mounted a counter attack to prove that the technology which generated pollution could also depollute it and that the resources were not as exhaustible as they first seemed to be.

The potential for feasible technological fixes or solutions to important issues such as energy, pollution, safety, and health should not be underestimated, although it frequently is. The astonishing history of science and technology in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries shows that solutions to the physical needs of society have usually become rapidly available when those needs were perceived as urgent and feasible. Whether for armaments, commerce, exploitation, travel or recreation, technology and affluence delivered remarkable solutions within a reasonable time period⁷.

6. John von Neumann, "Can we Survive Technology?" Fortune, June 1955 from Kan, pp. 236-7.

7. Herman Kha, World Economic Development p. 240.

It was argued that, for continued technological progress, economic growth was a necessity, just as for technological progress continued economic growth was essential. The two were inseparable. As Herman Kahn asserts:

We firmly believe that despite the arguments put forward by people who would like to "stop the earth and get off," it is simply impractical to do so. Propensity to change may not be inherent in human nature, but it is firmly imbedded in most contemporary cultures. People have almost everywhere become curious, future oriented, and dissatisfied with their conditions. They want more material goods and covet higher status and greater control of nature... they believe almost certainly correctly, that it is technologically and economically possible for them to achieve these goods.⁸

or to quote Lewis:

We do not know what the purpose of life is, but if it were happiness, then evolution could just as well have stopped a long time ago, since there is no reason to believe that men are happier than pigs or than fishes. What distinguishes men from pigs is that men have greater control of their environment; not that they are more happy. And on this test, economic growth is greatly to be desired.⁹

The contention of the growth men is that disparities in achievement are the unavoidable cost of development. There is no need to be alarmed. They would be very much reduced, but never evened out, in due course of time. The faster the growth of the economy, the shorter the time necessary for inequities to be brought to tolerable levels. As such there is hence a case for accelerating growth in the developing countries through increased penetration of capital and technology from the developed countries and therefore less emphasis on distribution.

8. Ibid., pp. 23-4.

9. W. Arthur Lewis, *The Theory of Economic Growth* (Homewood, III: Richard Irwin, 1955) p. 421.

Industrialization and urbanization are the twin processes which accelerate growth and both are dependent on capital accumulation and technological innovation.

The single-minded pursuit of economic growth may produce war; it may increase inequalities among people; it may generate undesirable social and environmental side-effects; and it may produce a hedonistic, materialistic culture. But all these are the costs one has to pay because once the GNP is high all the aberrations can be removed by using part of the growth for corrective measures. "The West need not apologize for industrialization, even if industrialization on occasion produced or made possible aggression. Almost all successful societies have been aggressive at one time or another".¹⁰

The anti-growth lobby has however continued to expand of late, not so much because of fear of pollution or depletion of natural resources, but more because of a realization of the social effects of continued accent on economic growth.

In consequence of the technological eruption in the West there are today almost no institutions embedded in tradition through which love and respect can easily and regularly be given vent. While revelling in sexual permissiveness, we are inhibited in the expression of love for our fellows. Surely there was never a time in history when, between men, it was more awkward to express, and more difficult to experience, an unalloyed affection. From the pangs of such frustrations man's lust for power currently distils its frenzy, and sparks his hopes with technological fantasies that can only remove him further from fulfilment. The resulting despair begets a craving to pierce more wantonly the seemingly repressive integument of the social order, a craving expressed in the fevered search for novelty and excitement which is fostered and met by commercial interests. One result of these combustible forces is the popularisation of sexual display and abandon and, inevitably, also a growth in the taste for sadistic violence and obscenity.

10. Kahn. World Economic Development, p. 441.

To punish mortals the gods grant their wishes. But whether seen as hemesis or not, the vision evoked by this interpretation of events is a frightening one: that of Western civilisation, the civilisation of the Enlightenment, the civilization of Science, a civilisation born of high hopes and auspicious heralding, today frothing with power and glee - and being piped gaily to the brink of the abyss. And all that yet might stay the fatal plunge lying in the mud, discarded and in decay.¹¹

While the growth men are looking beyond earth's lithosphere towards the ocean floor, the moon, the other planets of the solar system and even to the stars for resources needed for future economic development, the anti-growth men would first like to make this earth a better place to live in before colonizing other celestial bodies. They advocate a zero-growth economy for the developed countries, the reconstruction of the disrupted social fabric; diversion of resources and technological progress towards the noneconomic aspects of life. For the developing countries they advocate a new style of development which attacks the poverty syndrome directly; meets the basic needs of the people first; and generates a variety of humanistic trends in the society. It is also contended that a nation with a low growth rate and a low per capita income can maintain a very favourable standard of living for its people, just as the reverse can also be true.

While the debate continues, and becomes further intensified, the governments in developed as well as developing countries continue to pursue the mirage of economic growth: The developed countries because they want to acquire more power to enable them to hold on to whatever they amassed through exploitation in the past, and the developing countries because they need power to get out of the stranglehold of the developing countries. They all tend to believe that power comes from the barrel of economic growth.

11. Mishan, The Economic Growth Debate, pp. 266-7

APPROACHES TO HUMANIZED DEVELOPMENT

Before we move on further, it is important that we define the meaning of humanized development. For the purpose of this paper, humanized development is that process of societal change which has improved the quality of human life for the immediate as well as the long-term good. The quality of life has to be seen from all relevant perspectives - not only from the economic angle. Which aspect receives prominence, when and for how long would be determined by specific circumstances. An attempt is made here to discuss a few of the approaches.

The Pragmatic Approach: Something Which Will Work

An increasing number of scholars in the developed as well as the developing countries favour a position between the capitalistic and Marxian approaches. We can call them pragmatists because their particular styles of approach have emerged from the realization that, (a) accelerated growth is just not possible, as the conditions for such growth are no longer favourable, (b) that whatever small growth does take place in the developing countries is being cornered by the top 10 to 25 per cent of the population, leaving the poor relatively poorer, and at times absolutely poorer, and (c) the socialist revolution which can bring about a drastic change in the system is not the immediate future in most countries. The idea, therefore, is to evolve strategies which will improve the conditions of the poor, at least slightly so as to make them more vocal and demanding.

These approaches do not challenge the capitalist mode of production but advocate a more socialist mode of distribution. They advocate a number of institutional reform in favour of the poor, principally land reforms. For all practical purposes, the advocates of these approaches do not want any revolutionary change in the system. Instead, they want the system to readjust itself in response to new challenges, and quicken the process of development for those who have been left behind in the past.

The various paradigms of these approaches accept economic growth as essential for improving the lot of the poor. They suggest policies,

strategies and other mechanisms through which the fruits of growth could be passed on to the poor countries and their peoples. This could be done by helping the poor both on the production and consumption fronts, and by instigating them to join together as pressure groups to demand a greater voice in decision-making.

The New International Economic Order

One of the paradigms takes national states as units and tries to remove these features of the existing world order which work against the developing countries. The contention is that the existing world order was evolved at a time when much of the world was colonized by the Western world and hence was unable to assert its own viewpoints. Today's world stands divided between the rich North and the poor South leading to a new global human problematique rooted in:

- the pervasive dualism of the world along the North-South axis;
- a fundamental disequilibrium in the world economy arising out of underlying structural maladjustments and affecting all regions of the world;
- a state of instability in the world political process arising from continuing asymmetry between the world's regions, together with a growing challenge from less-privileged regions to the centres of economic and political power and intensifying pressures for a new international order;
- enveloping all other sources of conflict, the conflict over resources and life styles, with the North wanting to preserve and even enhance its standard of living, and the South wanting to achieve minimum living standards for which it would need access to resources and institutions - many of which are located in the South
- over which the North has acquired control and hegemony;
- penetration into the Third World of alien life styles of the industrial advanced societies and their concomitant structures of production and technology, producing in its wake a structural

crisis, growing disenchantment among the people and new sources of conflict within and between Third World countries;

- new dimensions in the increasing militarization of the world political process with (a) some countries of the North responding to the perceived threat from the South to their economic and political power and life styles by new doctrines of military hegemony and pre-emptive warfare against the Third World, and (b) the elites in many countries of the South making up for their economic and political failure by resorting to military aggrandisement which, incidentally, is often used for repressive measures at home - the two aspects together making for an endemic state of insecurity at all levels, and a complete distortion of the development process;

- as a result of these various phenomena, a growing confrontation waged in defence of the global status quo, at both national and international levels, but essentially triggered by policies pursued by major Northern powers against the South through protectionism, resource diplomacy, doctrines of 'defence' against the Third World, and attempts to show the seeds of fragmentation in the Third World through aggressive salesmanship of military hardware, technology and models of life style and development;

- fragmentation and turmoil in the Third World arising out of mass awakening and frequent shifts and turnover of elites.¹²

In order to come to terms with some of these problems, the United Nations declared 1960-69 as the First Development Decade. A decade when, hopefully, international cooperation would greatly strengthen the industrialization processes in the underdeveloped countries of the Third World. The Second Development Decade (1970-79) called for a direct attack on poverty. Neither of these aims were fulfilled, as neither goal was achieved. The Third Development Decade launched in 1980 is

12. "Towards a New International Development Strategy: The Scheveningen Report" Development Dialogue (Dag Hammarskjöld Foundations, Uppsala), 1980:1, pp. 56-7.

unlikely to yield better results, given current indications. But these and other international efforts have made the problems of underdevelopment clearer and better understood. Enormous amounts of work done by the Club of Rome, World Order Model Project, Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, Cepal and many others have produced enough documentary proof and rationals for a New International Economic Order. The Brandt Commission Report ¹³ has set the stage for a North-South dialogue, scheduled to be held in October 1981 in Mexico.

The direction of thinking could be gauged from the following excerpts from the Scheveningen Report entitled, "Towards a New International Development Strategy":

The development of Third World countries will remain an unfulfilled goal if they remain unable to secure a share of resources commensurate with their development needs, due to unfair competition from industrialized countries. Conversely, Western lifestyles and their demonstration effect on the South must be restrained if maldevelopment is not to become totally globalized ... there is need for a system of international accountability of each state for the impact of its national development, or maldevelopment, on the development of other nations. This again is especially relevant to rich and powerful countries having disproportionate access to, and use of, world resources and pursuing a lifestyle and technology that produces the bulk of environmental hazards for the world. Such a concept of accountability is no less relevant to the richer classes within societies ... there emerged from this ethical perspective for development an appreciation of the international obstacles to an alternative development strategy. These obstacles are largely institutional in respect of financial transactions, trade barriers, technology transfers and control of communication and information channels. In each of these areas the responsibility and accountability of the industrialized countries must be stressed ... major elements of the North have moved along the path of

13. Willy Brandt Commission, North-South: A Programme for Survival (London: Pan World Affairs, 1980.)

confrontation by resorting to protectionism, resource diplomacy and doctrines of defensive warfare against the South, as well as through attempts to fragment the South through its sub-militarization. In response, the South is left with no option but to match this confrontation by internationalizing collective self-reliance, engaging in its own version of resource diplomacy and trying to work out new global coalitions of interest that derive strength from divergencies of interest within the North and its incipient fragmentation.

Within this overall context of confrontation, and indeed as an instrument of global structural transformation (which is also the aim of the confrontation), it should also be possible to enter into negotiations with the North. The principal aim of these negotiations should be to change the rules governing international flows of trade, money, finance and technology. The effective functioning of international institutions dealing with economic transactions should also be demonstrated, and collective self-reliance should emerge as a forceful determinant of the new development strategy.

The new international development strategy and its framework of negotiations should aim at a few key issues and adopt them as its priority policy and negotiating targets.

1. It should above all aim at two key elements of national self-reliance in the Third World and eradicate the obstacles facing them: sustainable production of domestic food supplies and endogenous capacities of developing, acquiring and adapting technology.
2. It should provide the concept of development with new and different cultural roots by drawing upon alternative modes of civilization; in particular, it should push forward the eradication of illiteracy and racism, and should move towards a fully worked out code of conduct on control of international mass media and information networks.

3. It should incorporate demilitarization as a development object and should initiate moves towards a step-wise and time-bound programme of disarmament and demilitarization, for without progress in this front progress on economic and political aspects of development, the environment, the achievement of collective self-reliance and transformation towards the NIEO will always remain problematic.

4. It should pay much greater attention to the present waste and maldistribution of development resources - especially food, technology and energy - and should aim at effective means to increase the command of Third World countries over such resources.

5. It should aim at full participation by the Third World in the management of all global commons which are outside the scope of national sovereignty over resources, all of them to be dealt with under the comprehensive framework of the 'common heritage of mankind' at the present historical juncture.

6. Within the context of the policy priorities outlined above, the strategy should promote negotiations - made meaningful by the increased collective countervailing power of the Third World - to complete the unfinished agenda of UNCTAD V: namely, to establish a restructured international framework for trade, monetary and financial cooperation which should accommodate the different economic and social systems and patterns of development prevalent in the world community and which would be based upon institutionalized democratic processes of consultation and decision-making. This framework should include:

- international measures to regulate the activities of transnational corporations in the field of trade, money, finance and technology, including effective code of conduct, backed up by comprehensive national legislation in both home and host countries;
- a trading system which makes room for the growing industrial capacity of the Third World and which also provides a sound base for the world commodity economy;

- a monetary system which ensures greater stability, helps to control inflation, provides for better and more equitable methods of creating and distributing reserves and of adjusting to both deficits and surpluses, and promotes resource flows to the Third World;
- a system of financial transfers for development based increasingly on automaticity and operating according to universally acceptable and socially responsible criteria, as is the case within nations;
- as part of the latter, a system of international taxation, which should be universal, progressive and start at low rates, and which could be initially applied to the use of the global commons and also levied on internationally undesirable activities, e.g. arms expenditure on trade, pollution accumulation of destabilizing exchange reserves.¹⁴

Strategies to help the Poor in the Developing Countries

The New International Economic Order would assist the developing countries in getting a better share of world resources, but such an order is not likely to come about in the near future. A number of strategies have, therefore, been suggested by international agencies and individual scholars and development specialists to improve the deteriorating lot of the poor in these countries.

One of these strategies calls for creating more employment opportunities for the poor. The ILO was the main rotary of this strategy. The emphasis was on projects which were labour-intensive and also added to the permanent assets of the community. New Intensive Rural Employment Programmes were launched to cover almost all sectors of the rural economy - crop farming, horticulture, animal husbandry, social forestry, and irrigation. In the urban areas, the programme concentrated on the informal sectors of the economy - petty traders, retailers, blacksmiths, carpenters, etc. They became eligible for loan-

14. "Towards a New International Development Strategy", pp.61-4.

assistance from banking institutions. It was argued that all such people had aptitude and ability, but they lacked the capital to compete with the formal sector.

Whatever its other limitations, the employment programme did help a few who otherwise would have never been helped. But the problem was so complex and all-pervading that a single programme with limited resources could do precious little.

Around 1974, Chenery suggested enhanced investment in projects (usually of small scales) which related directly to the poor - education, health, credit and agriculture. He argued that the poor should have more capital to earn sufficient income to meet their basic needs. If their consumption pattern improved they would demand goods which were produced in the large-scale sector. Thus that sector would also benefit indirectly from investment in the activities which helped the poor both in urban and rural areas.

Then came the famous Basic Needs strategy. This strategy also emerged from an ILO mission. There were however a number of other proponents of this strategy, mostly based in the developed countries (Hans Singer, Emerij, J. Grant, Paul Streeten, and many others).

The idea behind the Basic Needs approach was simple to begin with but it became complex and unmanageable as more and more of its supporters climbed into the band wagon. It was suggested that as the economies of most developing countries were growing at a slow rate the living conditions of the poor would remain miserable for a long time to come. Moreover, the benefits of even that slow growth were being cornered by the upper classes. As there was no hope of any structural change in these societies, a better strategy would be to aim at meeting the basic needs of the poor. It was also felt that it was easier to get international assistance for this purpose.

The basic needs programme laid stress on food, nutrition, health, education, particularly literacy, clothing, shelter and the organization of the poor. Sri Lanka was cited as an example of a country which had enhanced the quality of life of its poor far above that of most developing countries even though its per capita income was low. It gave

free or subsidized food to all those who were poor and provided social services at nominal cost, or sometimes at no cost. It was argued that the basic needs of the poor throughout the world could easily be met by an additional foreign aid of just US \$15 billion.

Because foreign assistance was available, very many of the developing countries renamed their social service programmes as Basic Needs Programmes. On the intellectual front, books and articles have appeared since 1974 defining basic needs (sometimes seeming to include almost everything under the sun); They have at times suggested elaborate methods of identifying and planning for the supply of them, outlining ways of moulding all human activities to fit in with the Basic Needs approach. These writings continued until the developing countries began to get suspicious about the format of Basic Needs. It was suspected that the whole approach may have been a strategy devised to divert their attention away from the increasingly vocal clammering for a New International Economic Order. Basic Needs programmes continue to be important components of national plans but they are no longer accepted as viable strategies for development.

Among the other strategies to reach the poor, John Mellor's thesis of "Agriculture First" and Waterston's thesis of "Integrated Rural Development" deserve mention here. Since the bulk of the poor in the developing countries live in rural areas, Mellor suggests that priority be given to agriculture and agricultural development. The other strategy is known as Integrated Rural Development, elaborated by Albert Waterston in the mid-seventies. He found that the Green Revolution, resulting from large-scale investment in agriculture, helped only those who had large land-holdings. But the majority of the rural inhabitants in the most densely populated developing countries were either small holders or landless. They did not benefit from the Green Revolution. Waterston, therefore suggested an integrated approach to rural development with attention given to the following six elements:

1. involvement of small farmers and landless labourers in labour intensive production;
2. Rural works programmes in minor projects to create permanent assets including infrastructure;

Then there is what one may call the strategy of self-reliant development. According to the proponents of this strategy, the causes of increasing unemployment and poverty in the developing countries can be traced back to their dependence on the developed countries. Only hard work and a sense of achievement can make a country mobilize itself for nationhood.

This is, of course, considerably harder. But it is precisely the shared experience of hardship which has always proved to be by far the most reliable tool by which people have acquired the common features identifying them as members of the same group. Indeed, self-development is not merely an effective alternative way of nation building. Historically, as Marx would phrase it, it was the primary way. Every country that is today fully developed, economically grown up, and emotionally mature, has gained its status not by jumping in infantile contemporary fashion on the shoulders of somebody else's experience. Every one of them gained it by singlehandedly wresting it from forbidding hostile environments in personally suffered trial, error, blood and sweat and toil and tears.¹⁵

More Humanistic Approaches - The Search for a New Meaning of Development

A growing number of development thinkers do not consider the growth with equity approach a lasting solution to the major development issues in question. According to them, development means far more than the discipline of economics can comprehend. Development is something which makes life more satisfying. To equate it with economic growth amounts to saying that money is the measure of all things.

One school of thought has concentrated on challenging the very idea of continuing economic growth as a desirable phenomenon. While the other sees a humanistic style of development emerging out of the current confusion over development theory and practice. Those in the first school believe that there are physical and social limits to growth,

15. Leopold Kohr, Development Without Aid (Llandybïe, Carmarthenshire: Christopher Davies, 1973), p.11.

which are being reached in the developed countries. As an illustration, let us take up two authors who have contributed greatly to the current debate.

Mishan opens his most recent book. The Economic Growth Debate. with a question: Does money buy happiness? The rest of the book is an answer to this question. His answer is no, but he adds that money does abuy something. It buys food, shelter and clothing and other needs without which man cannot live. These needs must be met far above the mere survival level. But once they are met, money buys very little. It is the other human urges which gain in importance then, but which cannot be evaluated in terms of monetary value. Man can still be most unhappy in the midst of material plenty if these other urges are not fully satisfied.

Mishan lists fourteen constitutents of a good life.

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Food and shelter | 8. Self-esteem |
| 2. Health | 9. Kith and kin |
| 3. Nature | 10. Customs and moves |
| 4. Leisure | 11. Role and place |
| 5. Instinctual enjoyment | 12. The moral code |
| 6. Security | 13. The great myths, and |
| 7. Love and trust | 14. Personal freedom |

And he contends that only a few of these can be bought with money. The rest fall in the social realm; they are determined by factors other than growth.

But even if it could be said of economic growth than it expands unambiguously the options open to the consumer, it would not follow that men should be regarded as being better off. For the thing, these options refer only to the amounts and varieties of goods available to the average person in his capacity of consumer. In his other roles, as worker, citizen, member of the family or part of the larger community, the individual may not be faced with more options as a result of continuing economic growth.... What is more, even if ... economic growth continues, it

is plausible to believe that a stage will be reached beyond which greater levels of output will add virtually nothing to his well-being. This is so not only because a point of satiation exists even for the most acquisitive animal, but also because, in high income societies, an individual's satisfaction comes to depend less on his absolute income and more on his income relative to the incomes of others...¹⁶

Fred Hirsch in Social Limits to Growth touches on similar issues and tries to answer three of the of repeated questions by economists.

1. Why do people desire economic advancement even though it produces disappointing results for those who achieve it? (most, if not all of us).
2. Why is there so much concern with distribution when we know that in the long run everyone can raise his level of living by more production? and
3. Why is there so much state interference in economic areas in modern times?

He refers to these as three paradoxes (a) the paradox of affluence, (b) the distribution compulsion, and (c) reluctant collectivism.

My major thesis is that these three issues are interrelated, and stem from a common source. This source is to be found in the nature of economic growth in advanced societies. The heart of the problem lies in the complexity and partial ambiguity of the concept of economic growth once the mass of the population has satisfied its main biological needs for life sustaining food, shelter, and clothing. The traditional economic distinction between how much is produced, on what basis, and who gets it then becomes blurred. The issues of production, of individual versus collective provision, and of distribution then become intertwined.¹⁷

16. E.J. Mishan, The Economic Growth Debate (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1977), p.29.

17. Fred Hirsch, Social Limits to Growth (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), p.1.

Hirsch suggests "that the prime economic problem now facing the economically advanced societies is a structural need to pull back the bounds of economic self-advancement. That in turn requires a deliberate validation of the basis of income and wealth distribution and that these economies have managed to do without in the transition period that is ending."¹⁸ Tinkering with the system here and there to bring it back to health would not work. What is needed is a new way of thinking and new way of looking at the system of production and consumption, with distribution as a central point.

The issue at stake is, however, not only the physical and social limits, to growth, but also of "should growth be equated with development," And if not, then what does development mean. Both growth and development signify continuity. Should the economy ultimately come to a standstill? Does it mean that the evolution of the world should stop? If not, then what would be the direction of this evolution?

In answer to this question, Denis Goulet says:

Whatever other purposes development may have, it has for all groups at least the following objectives:

- to provide more and better life sustaining goods to members of societies;
- to create or improve social conditions of life in some way related to a perceived need for esteem;
- to free human communities from servitude (to nature, to ignorance, to man or other communities, to institutions, to beliefs, to techniques of development, etc.) considered oppressive so as to release them for positive self-actualization.¹⁹

18. Hirsch, Social Limits to Growth, p.190.

19. Alain Birou, Towards A Redefinition of Development (Oxford: Pergamon Press for OECD, 1977).

Others, like Everett Hagen, have given similar universal values. In his most recent writing. Alvin Toffler²⁰ questioned the very bases of current theories of economic growth and suggested a gradual emergence of a new "wave" which integrates the achievements of the first and second "waves," i.e. the agricultural and industrial civilization. The third "wave" will provide man opportunities to progress in the realm of science and technology, yet remain human. Toffler's arguments are incisive and convincing, although his style is journalistic and he tends to make generalizations which are rather sweeping.

The Third Wave brings with it a genuinely new way of life based on diversified, renewable energy sources, on methods of production that make most factory assembly lines obsolete; on new, non-nuclear families; on a novel institution that might be called the "electronic cottage"; and on radically changed schools and corporations of the future. The emergent civilizations writes a code of behaviour for us and carries us beyond standardization, synchronization, and centralization, beyond the concentration of energy, money, and power.²¹

Even if the seeds of change are not exactly as Toffler sees them to be, he does suggest an alternative goal of that almost undefinable term "development". According to him, economic growth is not goal which human societies can pursue forever and at all stages of their evolution. It has been a goal for a transitional period. And that period is already ended in the developed countries and must eventually end for the currently developing countries too. The industrialization process in the developing countries cannot be stopped. It will go on incessantly albeit slowly, partly because there is no clear alternative to it and partly because the poor cannot wait for too long. It is to be hoped that the industrialization processes, beginning in these countries will stay clear of the materialistic and superfluous aspects of growth which have hallmarked the industrialization processes of the developed countries. A new approach may soften the rigours of economic growth.

21. Toffler, The Third Wave, p.10.

THE SPATIAL APPROACH TO HUMANIZED DEVELOPMENT

Development has also been seen from the perspective of space. The way in which space is organized internationally or nationally reflects the changing relationship between man and nature and man and man. All societal values and institutions have their reflections in the way space is organized. Thus space is not something which can be equated with nature; it contains a variety of societal processes, including the mode of production and distribution.

As the spatial patterns and structures exhibit societal patterns and structures, each societal change brings about an appropriate change in space, the reverse is also true. The man-space nexus also changes as man's perception of space - resulting from new values he acquires - changes. Development is a process of change which a society decides to carry out within itself and in its relations to the outside world. It affects both the people and the space. It is this societal process which gives rise to different human personalities and to equally different structures in space, which together generate a new societal process.

Development can thus be seen as a spatial transformation process. A feudal society will have one type of spatial organization, a semi-feudal society another, and a capitalistic society a third one, while an egalitarian society will have still another. By studying the spatial organization we can understand the nature of the society. We can also predict the nature of the spatial organization by understanding the nature of the society.

The current emphasis on distribution of the fruits of economic development has its implications for space. If the natural resources are more evenly distributed; if the productive forces are not concentrated in a few hands; if the political power is not centralized, the spatial organization and structure of human activities will be different from the present ones, prominently exhibiting core-periphery relationships. The land boundaries would change; the size and architecture of buildings would be different, and the location of various activities would exhibit more egalitarian traits.

Gandhi once said, "... earth provides enough to satisfy every man's need, but not every man's greed". The greed-based spatial organization would be completely different from the need-based spatial organization.

One of the major by-products of growth-oriented development is the loss of community. Sociologists and anthropologists have their own meaning of community, but it is inseparably linked with concept of space. The community consists of a people who share common experiences and values, and who are independent; they know each other well and have respect for each other. They take common decisions on several issues which affect their lives.

The spatial range of such a community cannot be too large. People must live within a radius of a few kilometres. The change in the mode of transportation and communication do not make any difference because one of the fundamental bases of a community is face to face communication. It is a human need, apart from anything else. As the spatial extent increases, the interaction among the people becomes specialized. It is then no longer a community. It becomes a region or a nation.

Self-reliant development has to start from the community. Unless the spatial organization is so articulated that such communities both in rural and urban areas are revived and activated, the end result will always be a dependent style of development. Beyond the community, then, one has the region, and then the nation, finally the world. The whole world is a community of men and women struggling hard to escape their own myths and prejudices. But the local community which constitutes the basic unit of all higher level communities, is the prime mover of self-reliant development from below.

Unfortunately, this concept of community is not the fundamental basis for the division of space for developmental purposes. In humanized development processes, the spatial organization will require thorough change to enable each member of the local community to look inwards for guidance and support. At present, everyone is looking outwards, breaking whatever is left of the community to fragments.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

What we have discussed above is in the realm of hope. There are many models and many more ways of looking at development. But the question is: How are these models going to be implemented? Who is going to bell the cat? People with power and authority have vested interests in the system, as it is at present. Who would wish to destroy or knowingly weaken himself, human nature being what it is?

One may question the growth men on many accounts, but they are the ones who are the heroes today. It is they who are the opinion-makers, providing the tools and techniques for continued economic growth, moreover, the growth men have been in the field for over two centuries. They have not been there in vain. Without them much of humanity would have remained in bondage. They are not men to be despised and hated.

Three-fourths of humanity is still living below the poverty line. It clearly needs economic growth to remedy this situation. True, the developed countries no longer need rapid economic growth, but this does not mean that the whole world has reached a stage where growth is no longer needed. Yet at the same time it is clear that we cannot maintain economic growth in the old classical style indefinitely, without damaging our cultural, social and environmental heritage. The need for rethinking is very much here and it is good that so many people have been thinking and writing about this issue over the last few years. These writings have now created favourable public opinion but have yet to take hold in the minds of those who make the vital decision regarding economic growth and who are captives of the systems they preside over.

It will take time. What is needed is more literature, more discussion and more conferences to convince even those who do not want to be convinced. We must also remember that, apart from periods of catastrophe such as war, societal changes have not taken place in a year, or even two years. It is the author's hope that a nuclear conflagration will not be necessary to transform growth into a humanized development process.

DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES:
CONCEPT AND SCOPE*

BY
SAMUEL PAUL

* FROM STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT OF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES: GUIDELINES FOR ACTION, MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT SERIES NO. 19, INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE, GENEVA, 1983.

It is nearly three decades since macro-economic planning became fashionable as a tool of development in the poorer countries of the world. Macro planning, also known as development planning, was expected to give a sense of direction to national economies and provide a basis for allocating scarce resources among the priorities for development identified in national plans. Irrespective of their ideologies, many developing countries, which became politically independent in the 1950s, were soon attracted towards systems of national economic planning. The scope and sophistication of planning, of course, varied considerably from country to country. Thus India formulated and publicised a series of "five-year plans". Nigeria adopted six-year plans, whereas many other Asian and African countries have had three and four-year plans.

Macro planning entails varying degrees of public intervention in economic and social activities. Development plans consist not only of patterns of resource allocation and long-term national budgets, but also certain strategies for developing different economic sectors. The pace and type of development of agriculture, industry, education and other social services are spelt out in the plan documents. Since the private sector is limited in its capacity to raise the resources and is often regarded as an inappropriate instrument to implement the proposed changes, the State decides to actively intervene and manage many new development activities. This is true not only of infrastructure development such as roads, ports, communication and power, but also of certain categories of industry and critical support systems required for agricultural and rural development. Thus irrigation projects, agricultural extension services and common facilities for small industry development, to cite just a few, are usually promoted under public auspices. Such public interventions are usually termed "development programmes".¹ A macro plan consists of several development programmes, depending on the public interventions being envisaged during the plan period. It has been estimated that in many less developed countries

1. Sometimes they are also called "public programmes". We shall, however, use the term "development programme" in this book.

(LDCs), nearly 50 per cent of the annual budgets of governments are spent on development programmes.² The development plans and programmes of LDCs, therefore, consume a significant share of their resources.

1.1 Promise and performance

Though most developing countries have allocated significant resources to development programmes over the past two decades, performance has not matched expectations. In some countries and in some sectors, results have been impressive. But over-all, the performance of development programmes is by no means encouraging. The impact of development programmes on rural areas, where most people in the developing world live, has been dismal. Almost 20 years ago, Waterson observed:³

With many factors accounting for the inability of most countries to achieve targets in their plans, a question arises whether one factor - more than any other - is responsible for this inability. Until very recently, it was thought that the key element in the planning process was the formulation of an economically consistent plan. While the importance of a well-prepared plan based on clearly defined development objectives is indisputable, it was not generally realised that a consistent plan does not ensure implementation any more than an inconsistent one. When the plans they had prepared were not implemented, planners trained as economists assumed, and still assume in some circles, that the failure to achieve targets was mainly attributable to errors in computing and allocating resources or to errors in basic data.

The widening gap between promise and performance has opened the eyes of planners and policy makers to the limitations of macro planning. Planning was a useful aid for choosing development goals and allocating

-
2. Economists use the term "development expenditure" to differentiate this category from the normal maintenance expenditure of governments.
 3. A. Waterson: Development Planning: Lessons of experience (Baltimore, Maryland, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965), pp.332-333. See also U. Lele: The design of rural development (Baltimore, Maryland, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975) and Public Service delivery systems for the rural poor (Bangkok, United Nations ESCAP, 1980).

resources. But planning alone does not ensure performance. In many countries, planners have reined their methodologies and introduced new planning models. But there is little correlation between the sophistication of planning and national performance. This realisation has led some planners and international agencies to focus on how to formulate better programmes and projects. A consistent macro plan is still practically useless unless the projects and programmes which constitute it are well conceived and selected.⁴

By far the greatest number of failures to carry out public sector projects and programmes at reasonable cost in reasonable periods of time are traceable to inadequate project selection and preparation. Few less developed countries are fully aware of the necessity for selecting soundly conceived projects with potentially high yields, defining their scope with clarity, estimating their national currency and foreign exchange requirements with a sufficient degree of accuracy, and laying down realistic schedules for their execution; fewer yet have the administrative capacity and the potential will to cope with these needs and, especially, to carry out plan projects and programmes in accordance with carefully developed programmes of action.

In the late 1960s, many countries began to recognise the importance of designing projects competently and choosing them carefully. Project appraisal tools become popular in many planning agencies. National and international organisations disseminated new ideas on project appraisal and cost-benefit analysis through their "manuals".⁵ Attention thus shifted from macro to micro planning. Leading financial institutions, such as the World Bank, now conduct careful project appraisals before they lend money to LDCs for specific schemes. Country officials are trained to use the new methodologies and a new kit of tools has been added to the development planners' armoury.

4. A. Waterson, *op. cit.*, pp.320-321.

5. For example, UNIDO: *Guidelines for project evaluation* (New York, United Nations, 1972) and I.M.D. Little and J. Mirrlees: *Manual of Industrial project analysis in developing countries* (Paris, OECD, 1969)

Analysing the costs and benefits of industrial and conventional infrastructure projects is relatively easy. Technologies are known, demand can be estimated, and monetary calculations are not terribly difficult to make. But, with the growth of development programmes in social sectors such as education, health and nutrition, many assumptions of the new methodology have been called into question. Technologies had to be evolved or adapted. Estimates of demand or public response have generally turned out to be extremely misleading. Projects that were considered viable when formulated and appraised turned out to be low performers when implemented. Even industrial and infrastructure projects, though carefully prepared and evaluated, have actually performed poorly.

Thus, a new class of problems has been identified as responsible for poor performance. It now seems that inadequate attention has been paid to the implementation of projects and programmes. Decision making is tardy and organisation arrangements for managing the projects are vague. Even when projects were physically completed, too little attention was paid to getting them to perform well and to maintain the facilities. Many observers have called this set of issues "management problems" and have argued that the widening gap between project and programme plans and their performance is largely due to management failures. Unfortunately, planners too often view implementation and management as issues outside their purview. The dichotomy between planning and implementation prevailing today in many countries reflects an inadequate appreciation of the interaction between the two. Planners are reluctant to recognise feedback on implementation problems as an input to the planning process. Further refinement of planning tools and models cannot possibly make up for the deficiencies in implementation and management.

This brief review reveals a gradual evolution in our understanding of developmental processes and performance. The concern about management of development programmes can be traced to the dissatisfaction with the performance of development plans and programmes. This does not imply a rejection of planning. Macro planning, micro planning and public management are complementary, not

substitutes for each other. This book (SIC) focuses on the management of programmes. What is special about development programmes and makes them difficult to manage?

1.2 Nature and scope of development programmes

Development plans typically consist of numerous programmes organised and managed by public agencies. Even countries without such macro plans have many programmes managed by public agencies. Thus development programmes are found in all developing countries, including those who do no macro planning. Agriculture, industry, health, education and housing are important sectors where development programmes have been undertaken. The rice production programme in Philippines, the family planning programme in Indonesia, the rural electrification programme in India, the adult education (literacy) programme in Tanzania, etc., are sectoral programmes. Programmes have also been organised for the development of infrastructure such as roads, communication and other public utilities. In some countries, infrastructure and common facilities for small industry development may be provided through an industrial estates programme. Many countries commonly organise such programmes through agencies created by ministries or departments.

Sometimes, development programmes are organised for specific regions or areas in a country. For example, irrigation programmes are feasible in defined areas for physical and geographic reasons. Some countries have programmes to develop backward regions with special authorities or agencies to plan and integrate the different inputs and facilities needed to promote development there. Venezuela's development programme for the country's Guyana region is well-known. India and Brazil similarly have special programmes for their backward regions. Sometimes, sectoral programmes which are nominally national in scope may in fact be confined to limited areas. Agricultural crops may be grown only in certain regions. Thus, the smallholder tea development programme of Kenya operates only in 12 out of nearly 50 districts because tea cannot be grown everywhere.

The third category of programmes are multisectoral integrated programmes. Some sectoral programmes for single commodities or services integrate different inputs and activities to promote the commodity or service under the same programme. Thus the Kenyan programme for tea not only provides extension services, but integrates it with credit, leaf collection, processing and marketing. On the other hand, integration may occur across sectors as in integrated rural development programmes. Though the scope of such programmes varies widely, most are based on the concept that income-generating activities and social services which enhance the quality of life should be provided simultaneously in order to facilitate sustained rural development. This programme design calls for the integration of agricultural development with the provision of health and education, and related infrastructural facilities. According to a recent UN report:

The concept of integrated rural development, and thus the resulting programme configuration, is likely to be defined differently in different settings and in accordance with the definers' frames of reference. Various definitions have been examined at international meetings, and new ones have come out of such meetings. However, there appears to be no overwhelming evidence that fundamental changes in definitions have been made. The current definitions of IRDP, like the old, refer to the interface and mutual reinforcement between social and economic development at both national and sub-national levels, to the consequent need for comprehensive approaches to rural development, to the importance of popular participation and local decision-making and to the multi-faceted character and breadth of the development process. Current definitions, again like the old, refer to integrated rural development in both substantive and procedural terms and subsume combinations of purposes, strategies and outcomes in the definition itself. However, the current definitions more explicitly identify the poor in the rural areas as the principal clients, and more directly aim programmes at such specific goals as employment, increased agricultural production, augmented income and equitable

distribution thereof and greater access by the rural poor to public services.⁶

Integrated rural development programmes are now common in the developing world. In the Philippines, a new integrated rural development programme is being carried out under the supervision of a cabinet sub-committee. Colombia has an Integrated Rural Development Programme. Mexico's PIDER is a national programme to develop rural infrastructure. Many integrated rural development projects operate in limited geographical areas.⁷

Some programmes which started as single sector projects later evolved into multi-sectoral programmes. This was the case with the Cameroon Land Settlement Scheme which expanded into a broad integrated socio-economic development programme. In many countries, all these different types of programmes operate simultaneously. Thus in Kenya, the smallholder tea development programme operates alongside the Special Rural Development Programme. Many programmes emerge as adaptations to local conditions, problems and needs. The "commodity" as against the "area" approach, or "national" as against "regional" scope do not necessarily represent right or wrong choices, but rather options, appropriate in certain conditions, inappropriate in others.

Our threefold classification of development programmes can help us understand the complexity and scope of public interventions. Sectoral programmes generally aim to develop a single commodity or service nationally. Regional programmes also develop sectoral services, but in sub-national (regional) areas. Inter-sectoral (integrated) programmes focus on several sectors and call for a careful integration of diverse sectoral inputs. National integrated programmes exist but are rare. Sectoral and regional programmes are most common, with integrated inter-sectoral programmes gaining in popularity. This classification, however, helps little in judging the superiority or viability of a programme.

6. Public administration institutions and practices in integrated rural development programmes (New York, United Nations, 1980), p.6.

7. For a detailed discussion of such programmes see *ibid.* Also see Rural development: Sector policy paper (Washington, DC, World Bank, 1975).

Irrespective of classification, all development programmes are "instruments" of public policy and "intermediaries" between the beneficiaries at the grassroots and national or regional governments. Traditionally, governments implemented policy directly through ministries and departments without the "intermediation" of special agencies or institutions. Thus tax collection, maintenance of law and order, etc., have always been managed departmentally without creating separate organisational entities. Development tasks, however, necessitate the creation of new instruments that can better acquire and process complex, specialised and diverse inputs to meet the needs of specific segments of the population. This is the rationale of development programmes.

Development programmes are usually conceived at the national level and operate through sub-programmes designed to cover different geographic regions such as states or different functions and groups of services. A rice development programme might have sub-programmes for extension, irrigation, credit, seeds and fertilisers, each broken down regionally. The sub-programmes in turn might be a series of discrete, interrelated or sequential projects integrated into a relatively permanent delivery systems. Programme implementation is expected to occur through its location and service specific components which interface with clients or beneficiaries where they live or work. Thus, for example, agricultural or small industry development programmes may deliver their services through units set up near the farmers or entrepreneurs throughout the region or country.

The terms "projects" and "programmes" are often used interchangeably. Project orientation often dominates because aid agencies tend to design and promote pilot projects or limited-area projects. However, major institutions such as the World Bank have been involved in broader, ongoing activities. The development and management of national or regional programmes to replicate pilot project results are usually the responsibility of the governments. There are, of course, some projects which are of a continuing nature, e.g., irrigation projects. Donor agencies tend to be involved in such projects for a short or medium term. Donors' time perspectives, therefore, tend to be

shorter than those of national governments, which have long term responsibilities to manage such projects. Donors' relatively limited involvement in larger programmes partially accounts for the comparative neglect of programme management. Pilot projects and limited-area projects are to national programmes what research and development (R&D) projects are to large corporations. The products the corporations sell often result from R&D projects, but the corporations' problems of managing commercial production and marketing of such products are distinctly different from, and often more complex than, the problems of managing their R&D projects. Similarly, the management problems of large development programmes are different from those of the pilot project which supply the "products" to be replicated by programmes. The problems of large programmes also differ from those of the smaller, simpler time-bound projects.

By neglecting to study the larger, national programmes, we have ignored an important class of public management problems.⁸ This gap must be filled, because the replication of project results occurs almost solely through the medium of larger programmes. The ultimate test of the success of pilot projects is the extent to which they are replicated or adapted nationally. The author of a study of selected pilot projects in developing countries once concluded that they were successful because their technical findings were promising. Further investigations, however, revealed that none of the countries extended, adapted or replicated any of these projects. One cannot seriously attribute success to projects that have failed this basic test of replicability!

Studies of development programmes and projects reveal a strong sectoral orientation. Since most donor agencies and LDC governments are organised sectorally, projects and programmes are dominated by sectoral technologies and contexts. Public management problems then appear unique to each sector and cross-sectoral comparison and learning is resisted. For example, few health programme managers know much about

8. Interestingly enough, scholars located in developing countries or who have opportunities to be in the field have paid greater attention to the problems of such national programmes. Of course, if countries have not gone beyond the stage of pilot projects, opportunities for such involvement cannot possibly exist.

agricultural programmes and what each could learn from the other. Researchers follow similar paths. Developments in the theory and practice of public management have consequently suffered.

Sectoral differences do require different management practices.⁹ Programmes which provide direct and immediate economic gains should be managed differently from those which do not. Entrepreneurs respond eagerly to industrial development programmes likely to generate profits, whereas illiterate villagers may not want to participate in a preventive health programme. Programme management practices must allow for such differences, but inter-sectoral comparison is necessary to identify which successful practices can be transferred and where distinctly different practices are called for.

To understand better the nature and scope of development programmes, four distinctive features are outlined below:

Policy sanction

Normally, a specific legislative enactment precedes the creation of a public programme. Thus an authoritative decision of the government stands behind every development programme. The concept of policy sanction is applicable even in countries without development plans. US public programmes, for example, have appropriate legislative approval behind them. In countries with national development plans, an executive decision suffices, since the national plan containing the programmes has legislative approval. Presidential decrees, acts of parliament, etc., reflect formal, authoritative government decisions.

9. L. Stifel et al.: Education and training for the public sector in developing countries (New York, Rockefeller Foundation, 1977), p.7. US scholars who have worked on public programme implementation have, on the whole, avoided the sectoral bias. Comparisons across sectors and departments have been a part of their general approach. The problem has been more serious for scholars working on LDC programmes, possibly because of their long-term sectoral involvements.

Development focus

In contrast to regulatory programmes whose developmental impact might be indirect, development programmes are expected to generate economic and social outcomes (measurable and immeasurable) consistent with national development goals such as income growth and distribution, and improved quality of life. Their tasks are such that the discipline of the market mechanism is rarely an adequate framework for planning and controlling their operations. Development programmes, therefore, fall between purely regulatory programmes at one end of the spectrum, and commercially oriented public enterprises at the other.

Organisational identity

A development programme is an entity with its own organisational structure, budget and personnel. Even a programme under the administrative control of a ministry or a government department has its own organisational structure, assignments of tasks and responsibilities and reporting relationships. Development programmes can thus be distinguished from temporary systems and short-lived experimental projects. They are usually set up as authorities, boards, councils and other bodies with their own organisational identity. They may be fully or partly financed from government sources. Some may be self-financing agencies.

Replication

A programme's mission tends to be the replication or adaptation of a 'developmental product' or "service" over the entire country, or some of its constituent regions to benefit specified client groups. The developmental service need not be a physical commodity; it may be a system designed to deliver a product or service inside a specified geographical area and determined by the techno-economics of the sector or sectors and the existing geographic and organisational conditions. Thus in a health programme, the service is not the set of individual health services (which are, of course, of direct concern to the beneficiaries), but the system designed to assemble and deliver them at the village, sub-district, or district level. Similarly, it may be

misleading to define the output of a dairy development programme as "supply of milk"; its service might well be a system to integrate services to produce, process and market milk to benefit specified client groups. It is this system which a pilot project tries to test, and a national programme tries to replicate and adapt it over large areas.¹⁰

The "Service" underlying a development programme is either developed indigenously, or designed abroad and borrowed or adapted from foreign experience. Borrowing or designing models from abroad is extremely common among industrial programmes. Agricultural, rural development and social service programme designs are less easy to import. In fact, such models may not even exist. The concept of the service must then be developed indigenously. Whatever the approach, there is likely to be an identifiable service that a programme attempts to replicate. Again, the nature and scope of the service might well change with experience. The needs of the clients may change, necessitating changes in the service. Serious problems arise in large development programmes when services are specified inappropriately or the service or output is poorly understood.

1.3 Programme phases

Policy sanction, development focus, organisational identity and replication characterise all development programmes whether sectoral, regional or inter-sectoral. Pilot projects, experimental interventions and "crisis" programmes rarely possess all these four features.¹¹ However, development programmes which have all these features are not necessarily permanent. Some have permanent mission, others are phased out over time. We need, therefore, to examine their "life cycles".

10. The design of the individual services or end products is an important technical rather than management problem. Projects and programmes have to generate design, production and delivery systems which enable beneficiaries to receive the intended services, consistent with available resources and norms of efficiency.

11. We are here referring to pilot projects which have not been consciously planned to lead to larger programmes. Crisis programmes are short-term emergency programmes to deal with catastrophes like floods, droughts, famines, etc.

Life cycles of development programmes can be divided into phases which sometimes overlap. The pilot phase is the initial period when a "product" or service is being designed or adapted. This may or may not precede the formal launching of a national programme. The Mexican rural education programme organised by CONAFE started with a pilot phase when experimental work was done in a hundred community schools. The Philippine Rice Programme benefited from a pilot project involving 10,000 hectares. Pilot projects did not precede the Indonesian Family Planning Programme, but were undertaken concurrently with the programme. Many large programmes suffer either because pilot projects were never thought of or useful feedback from such experiments was lacking.

The replication or adaptation phase begins when the programme is extended from the pilot area to other areas. This phase offers the maximum challenge to the strategic and operational management of the programme. The growth in the size and complexity of the programme due to spatial expansion creates tough management problems which cannot be studied in the pilot phase. A pilot project confined to a few villages can be supervised personally by the project manager. He manages with simple systems and informal face-to-face relationships. The problems of a complex organisational structure (e.g., motivation and control of personnel, and decentralisation) rarely arise in the pilot project. These occur only when the project is extended or replicated on a larger scale.

Once a programme has completed its replication phase, its maturity phase starts. Depending on the type of service, the maturity phase takes one or three forms: (1) it may continue indefinitely as long as the service is needed (e.g., the generation and supply of electricity, health services, etc.); (2) it may be terminated if the service is no longer required or the client groups or private agents can take over (e.g., agricultural extension and input services, family planning, etc.); (3) the programme may be diversified, taking on new tasks, but carrying on the original service as part of its broadened mandate. For example, population or health programmes sometimes diversify to provide nutrition services without giving up the original services.

Management problems are most severe during the replication phase because formal systems must replace informal relationships in "scaling up" from the pilot phases, and during the maturity phase if the programme becomes diversified.

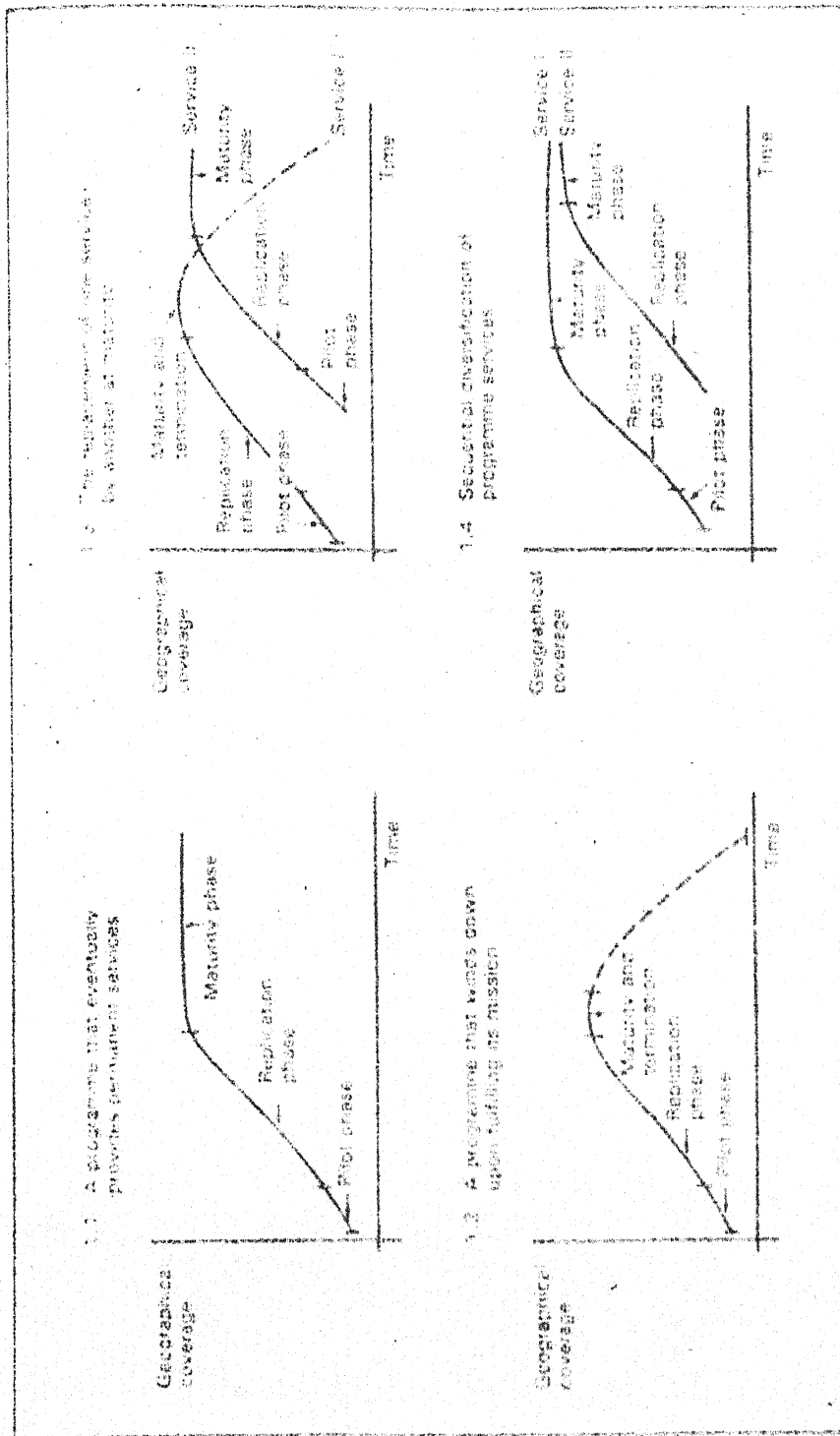
Figures 1.1 through 1.4 illustrate the phases of a programme's life cycle and the different options it may choose at maturity. The horizontal axis represents time in years and the vertical axis represents the geographical coverage. In the pilot phase, coverage is usually quite limited. The time taken to complete the pilot phase is often small compared to the programme's life cycle. During replication, geographical coverage increases. Maturity signifies stability, both geographically and in service delivery.

Figure 1.1 depicts the life cycle and phases of a development programme that takes on permanent services. Figure 1.2 represents a programme which, having fulfilled its mission, gradually winds down and terminates its service during its maturity phase. In figure 1.3, the programme divests itself of one service upon reaching maturity and develops another, repeating the cycle.

"Sequential diversification" is depicted in figure 1.4; service I continues permanently and service II is then added, starting from its own pilot phase. The programme thus diversifies sequentially and offers both services on a continuing basis.

All these alternatives can be found in different countries, even though not all programmes have grown from pilot phases. In some programmes, experimental or pilot projects may be concurrently undertaken when the programme is initiated. This was true of the Indonesian Population Programme. The country already had some experience with family planning when the programme was launched. Many programmes have come to grief because the pilot phase was skipped and programme strategies did not take into account the features of the national or regional environments. Some programmes compensate for the lack of a pilot phase by limiting their geographical spread initially and expanding their scope carefully through a learning process.

Figure 1 Life cycle and phases of a development programme



In summary, awareness of management problems of development programmes is growing as experience accumulates on the limitations of macro and micro planning. Development programmes have emerged as important instruments of public policies articulated in development plans, but are common even in countries which do not practise macro planning. Programmes must be distinguished from pilot projects and other temporary programmes which lack organic links with the more durable public interventions. Four common characteristics of development programmes are policy sanction, development focus, organisational identity and replication. Development programmes need not be permanent. It is useful to delineate three phases in their life cycle, namely the pilot, replication and maturity phases. A programme may continue to operate permanently when it offers a service in continuing demand or diversifies to provide new services which meet the long-term needs of beneficiaries.

INSTITUTION-BUILDING FOR TRAINING*

BY
T.N. CHATURVEDI

*FROM MANAGEMENT IN GOVERNMENT, PUBLICATIONS DIVISION, MINISTRY OF
INFORMATION & BROADCASTING, NEW DELHI, 1979, PP.141-150.

Institution-building for training of higher public services in a country is a difficult and a delicate task. It has many dimensions - both philosophical and programmatic. The recognition of the significance of training organised by the State for its own employees is, with a few isolated exceptions, such as the army, rather a recent phenomenon. It is, however, being appreciated that the administrative infrastructure is as much an essential input in the process of socio-economic development as financial investment. Broadly, training aims to maintain and increase the employee's effectiveness in his present job, prepare him for promotion by stimulating his potentials, and develop his skills and knowledge for greater organisational effectiveness. Training of public services is obviously determined by the nature, size and variety of the plans and programmes of social and economic advance that the country has undertaken or proposes to undertake in the near future.

The need for institutional training has not received adequate importance as the broad approach has been that the right type of training would be possible on-the-job itself through experience of the work-situation, by contact with older staff and guidance by immediate superiors. It is true that no amount of background training and training in skill in an institution can supplant the need for on-the-job training. As a matter of fact, both go together and are mutually reinforcing. The institutional arrangements for training only aim at making the training on-the-job much more effective and purposeful. It is expected that the appreciation of the problems while working on-the-job will be much more sharp if it is preceded by a well-planned institutional training.

The exact character of the training institution will vary according to, first, the nature of the public services and, second, the different levels in the public service it seeks to cater. The identification and survey of training needs so as to establish proper priorities have to be the starting point. A long-term perspective and phasing of training

will also be necessary. As regards higher services, training should attempt to provide induction into basic administrative knowledge, a technical or procedural skills and interpersonal skills, i.e., right attitudes and approaches as well as wider conceptual skills. For adequate institution-building in public administration the integrated nature of training has to be appreciated as a basic concept. Training is integrated in nature whether looked at horizontally or vertically. The training institution has to find its own role in relation to other training institutions that may exist as well as the nature of training that is desired to be imparted to its own alumni at different stages of their career. A training institution has also to take note of the fact that the training of the senior services alone will not yield the desired results. Services that are functionally subordinate and of supporting nature also stand in need of training and orientation if the senior services have to make optimum contribution to the public good. Thus, training programmes will have to be diversified and oriented to service requirements if the cumulative impact on administrative operations is to be substantial and lasting. Apart from initiating a scheme for fresh entrants, it may be operationally effective to locate some strategic areas for training purposes in view of the massive training needs in any developing society and given constraints of resources.

INSTITUTIONAL GOALS

Before taking a decision to establish a training institution, one has to be clear as to what the aims and objectives of the training institution should be. It is not only that the training institution must have a charter of its own, spelling out its assignment in detail, but should also specify the nature and the category of public personnel who will pass through its portals. It is again necessary to know as to whether it has to act as an institution for pre-entry training or post-entry training, both of the initial and in-service type. The authority and even the functioning of the institution will be conditioned principally by its primary aims. It is better that it serves both the purposes. Training in public administration, as in any profession, should be a continuous activity. The institution must be clear if it is

expected to conduct in-service training programmes in specialised areas. However, clarity in this respect is essential. For instance, post-entry initial training for new entrants and in-service training programmes for middle and senior level administrators will have of necessity a different objective and a different methodology of training. Both will have to be consciously identified and developed. But it is not as if they are compartmentalised altogether. For mutual effectiveness, the institution will have to locate common meeting points also. The greater the clarity about the purpose and scope of the institution the more effective will be its functioning and usefulness. It is vagueness as regards the aims and objectives that leads to dissipation of efforts and resources. Sometimes transitory enthusiasm for training as such or the fleeting recognition of the need for training on any particular programme leads to the setting up of a training institution which may subsequently be seen to be striving to find its character and moorings.

Once the goals of an institution have been properly identified, there is need for further thinking as to the immediate gain sought to be achieved through the various training programmes that the institution might organise. This will depend very much on the activities that the government has undertaken and the specific areas in which it is particularly felt that the achievement-lags are emerging due to a paucity of trained human resources. Training that seeks to sharpen an employee's procedural or administrative skill may have implications different from training which purports to develop his attitudes and his scheme of values in a particular direction.

The charter of the institution has to be in conformity with national goals. However excellent its institutional charter might be, if it is at variance with the national objectives there is hardly any doubt that the training institution will either generate frustration or simply wither away.

CONTENTS OF TRAINING

In the process of institution-building, when a charter in harmony with the national objectives has been devised, another necessary exercise will be to work out the contents of training or the syllabi

accordingly. The working out of the contents of training in the initial stages is an extremely difficult process. It may facilitate the task, to some extent, if there is adequate understanding of what the training seeks to achieve. The contents of the course for various categories of public service will be determined by the nature of their specific tasks and responsibilities. Much greater involvement of trainees will be called for while building up courses for senior level trainees. Besides, the contents of training will be much more useful if the nature of individual training needs as well as of the collective requirements of the organisation has been properly identified. The working out of the syllabus is not a once-and-for-all exercise. It is a continuing function. It can assume different forms with greater understanding of the felt needs of the organisation and the trainee. It is, therefore, essential that in this process there is need for experimentation and innovation. Besides, it is necessary that there is adequate involvement of the trainee, the trainer as well as the client organisation. It is only through this process of interaction and interchange of views and opinions that a training course or a training syllabus suited to the requirements of the situation can be prepared. Without developing a meaningful syllabus in consonance with the changing dimensions of the government, the training institution and the responsibility it is expected to discharge will be lacking in credibility and acceptability.

Once the contents of training have been worked out in detail, there will be the allied problem of training material. The training course as scientifically worked out finds concrete expression in the form of the training material that is prepared. In the early stages, sometimes, there may be no alternative to using the training material that might have been prepared by similar institutions in other parts of the world. But even this fragmentary material will have to be duly processed before being put to use. It is only fair that in times to come the training institution prepares its own training material. This is an essential ingredient of institution-building in public administration. Useful though otherwise, material based exclusively on experience in business and industry may not serve the purpose since it is prone to generate scepticism among trainees. Similarly, the indigenous character of material as distinct from the material based on alien experience is

necessary. One of the compelling requirements will be the need for environmental realism and this implies that the training material is such as could mesh in the day-to-day experience of the trainee. In the preparation of training material, the basic requirements and difficulties of the work situation that trainees will face after they leave the training institution should find ample recognition. In organising teaching material for training an inter-disciplinary approach is necessary since administration dealing with complex human affairs is multi-dimensional in nature. The preparation of training material is again a continuing function, inasmuch as it would call for changes, adjustments and improvements all along. It is useful if the training institution, in the course of preparation of training material, has the benefit of the services of both academic experts making a dispassionate study of these aspects and practising administrators who have the feel of the reality of these problems. This is expected to provide adequate scholastic base as well as realism to the training material. Training material should not consist of only what has been consciously and formally produced by the training institutions. In the very process of its evolution, the training institution will have to develop the capacity to identify and locate the training material that may lie scattered or hidden in public documents, government records or even in the day-to-day problems of administration as reported in the press. It needs a judicious combination of practical insight and the capacity for conceptualisation in respect of the problems of governmental working. This work ought to be approached in the proper scientific spirit.

STAFF SELECTION

The next requirement in institution-building will be that of finding and providing well-equipped staff for the training institution. The selection of proper trainers is very important in the process of institution-building for training in public administration. If the institution has to develop a character, or identity of its own, it should possess a 'core' staff. Not only that it should have its own 'core' staff, it should also have a conscious policy and programme for further staff development. The academic wing should not be particularly isolated from the intellectual stimulus provided by the fresh sources of

knowledge. The staff of the institution should have a mix of both the academic and the serving personnel. 'Knowledge-base' and 'experience-base' ought to be harmoniously blended for the adequacy of the training programme. The need is for conceptualisation as well as linkage of field experience with concepts. The head of such an institution, since it aims to train the functionaries for public service, should preferably be an administrator with academic orientation and diverse administrative experience. It should be borne in mind that the leadership and drive provided by the head of the institution will condition the entire training programme and its very credibility. It should be deemed to be a prestigious assignment, and should not be filled up by the 'sparables' or the 'reluctants' or by one waiting on a platform for the next train. The assignment should invariably continue for at least three years excluding any period spent on any observation trip whether in the country or abroad. Rapid turnover of staff neither helps to build up the much-needed training expertise, nor is it conducive to continuity in policy making and programming. The initial selection of staff, their orientation and their retention would be crucial to the entire process of institution-building. The conditions of service in the training institution have, therefore, to be made more satisfying than now as these jobs are not otherwise alluring. Besides, practising administrators should not feel that they are isolated from the mainstream of administrative life by accepting such assignments. The government should give opportunities for self-development to these trainers by arranging for their orientation by deputing them abroad for short periods in case such facilities are not available in the country or by associating them with committees and commissions that the government constitute to go into various administrative problems. There should be a conscious attempt to give adequate recognition to training jobs as compared to the more visible operative parts in administration.

LOCATION

As regards the allocation of the training institution, there have been differing viewpoints. Some advocate a separate institution to be set up by the government that would basically cater for its own

requiremets, while others are of the view that such an institution should be located within a university or attached to it. However, the trend in this country and elsewhere now is to establish separate institutes, training schools or civil service staff colleges. This by no means implies that universities have a limited role to play in the process of institution-building in the training of public administration. All that is being suggested is that for basic and initial training, the best forum would be a well designed separate instituion organised under the auspices of the government. A university can offer assistance in the shape of research personnel, research guidance and evaluation. There will be need for continuing liaison and mutual support. The proper physical location of the institution, in spite of regional or local pulls and pressures, is vital if we aim at high performance. It should be so situated that it can draw upon the resources of experience and expertise available elsewhere with ease. It must be located in an intellectually stimulating area so that exchange of views and experience is possible.

ORGANISATION STRUCTURE

Apart from location, another problem of institution-building is that of the organisational structure of the training institution and its control mechanism. It is obvious that the organisational structure and operation form of the institution should be such as to provide adequate flexibility in its working. There exists some difference of opinion as to whether the administrative control of the training institution should vest in government or in an autonomous body. Even if the control rests with government, a further question that arises is which should be the nodal agency for such an institution. It stands to reason that the ministry or unit in the government dealing with personnel management will have to be intimately associated with the training institution. Control by an autonomous body raises issues like the composition, character and viability of that body. No uniform structural pattern will, however, be possible in all cases due to differing requirements. There may not be anything intrinsically wrong with either of the two systems. If the real significance of training permeates government as a whole and there is wider recognition in

society as regards the role of a training institution and faith in those chosen to run it, the question whether the institute should be controlled directly by government or supervised by an autonomous governing council loses much of its validity. Even if the institution is functioning as a wing of the government and adequate operational flexibility in financial and administrative matters in consonance with the special needs has been provided it may be useful to have a small advisory body attached to the institution. But this must consist of knowledgeable people with interest and insight in the problems of administration. This compact body of experts will not only advise the institution as to its working, performance and programmes for development, but will also help to project the correct image of the institution to the general public and thus help it to build the necessary rapport for wider support and understanding.

TRAINING AND RESEARCH

In the process of institution-building the training of trainers itself presents an important problem. The content, duration and the forum of such training have all to be approached in an exploratory spirit. No trainer in public administration can be effective today unless he is himself aware of the national objectives, the total strategy of the government, the political setting of the government apart from tools and administrative procedures which are being increasingly refined and reinforced by rapid advances in behavioural sciences and scientific management. One of the main purposes of the training programmes for trainers should be that apart from teaching techniques and subject-matter knowledge, they should also learn to identify the training needs of various categories of public employees and locating or processing useful teaching material.

The question of training techniques is another field in institution-building which merits attention. There is need for empirical studies in this regard. Appropriate techniques for various levels, stages and disciplines make the entire effort of the training institution useful or otherwise. A variety of teaching methods may have to be adopted. Lectures, group discussions, syndicates, field

trips, short-term organisational attachments, audio-visual aids, simulation techniques, case studies, in-basket methods, sensitivity training, management games, programmed instruction, etc., have all an important place in the total training strategy. All of these methods have to be used singly or sometimes jointly depending on what is attempted to be conveyed and to whom. The need is to develop ability to modify and adopt these techniques to our administrative environment and cultural milieu to see which of these methods will be more effective in a particular training programme. The heterogeneity of backgrounds of trainees also becomes an important problem for training institution. The motivation of trainees creates at times a serious problem - both for freshers and in-service training participants. This also underlines the question of not only satisfactory relations between trainees and trainers - the proper mix of formality and informality - but also of what has been called "training under pressure" vs "training at ease". For courses of in-service training, if the trainees are not selected from the viewpoint of career development, the institution is likely to suffer because of the cynicism which indifferent and disinterested trainees are prone to create.

If the training institution is to be properly built up, it must have a programme of its own for research and publications. Research can be either library research or field research or a combination of both. Research should have primarily applied bias and practical orientation. Research is needed to sustain the intellectual freshness of the teaching staff. It is also useful for lending realism and a sense of contemporary relevance while discussing problems of administration. Research has to be an integral function of teaching and training.

In the process of institution-building for training in public administration, the quality of library service is very important. Library service ought to be really positive in accessibility and availability of reading material. Bibliographical services need to be developed scientifically. Similarly, modern facilities of duplicating of material ought to be provided.

The training institution should be so equipped as to enable it to cope with the task of training in functional areas, imparting special

skills and transmitting knowledge of modern management tools. Moreover, provision has to be made to properly integrate into the training process as well as the training material the sociological and psychological insights that the behavioural sciences have thrown up.

EVALUATION

In order to ensure adequacy and stability of institution-building in public administration incessant assessment and reassessment of the programme is imperative if it has to remain intellectually alive as well as operationally meaningful. Administrative organisations are growing fast and it is not possible to know how the people trained are actually doing in the field. It is, for instance, quite essential to re-examine the scope, programme and approach of the training institution in the light of the feedback of field agencies. The nature, levels, contents and methods of training, direction and quality of research studies as well as of research personnel call for periodical and conscious review in a constructive spirit with an eye to continuous improvement in terms of their impact. The impact and effectiveness of the training may have to be judged and evaluated systematically by field experience and observation. The training programmes will have to be modified and adapted to meet the changing needs of the country. Thus there is a need for an in-built organisation of feedback and evaluation in respect of the training courses as well as the impact of training. The problem of the scope of evaluation and its methodology has no ready-made solution. The institution will have to attend to it in a spirit of inquiry and experimentation. Efforts should also be made to study such methods as may have been developed elsewhere and how far these could be adapted to the needs of the training programmes of the institution.

SUMMING UP

Adequate institution-building for training in administration has a number of parameters. Probably in this field, in spite of recent developments, there are more areas of ignorance than of steady light. Hence, there is scope for improvisation, innovation and experimentation rather than the promise of the installation of a model of perfection.

The problems like the charter of the institution, identification of training needs, selection and development of trainers and trainees, preparation of training material, selection of training techniques, provision of adequate library facilities and research programmes need attention. Selectivity and qualitative approach to training programmes have to be reconciled with massive and wide-ranging training requirements. Objectives of training must be all along kept in view by every training programme and these should be carefully worked out. Special efforts in the nature of making up certain lags in the educational system may also sometimes have to be made by the training institution for its trainees. Experience of training abroad, so far as is useful, ought to be availed of. The institution must take note of the managerial content of modern administration and ought to provide for it. It should so develop its programmes and methods of working that it leaves a professional impress and stamp on trainees. As a matter of fact, it should not only help to establish professional norms but also try to project the image of a public service adequately equipped to meet the challenges of the fast changing society. Hence it should be always alive to the need for critical assessment and evaluation of its working as well as purposes. It is only then that it can lay the foundations of continuing education for public servants in an age of growing complexity and multiplicity of administrative tasks.

Institution-building for training in administration is not complete unless it is matched by a well-conceived personnel policy of placement and career management. There is need for a continuing quest of excellence in administration as no government can rise above the level of the morale and adequacy of its public service. No amount of criticism, without planned action at institution-building in training and development for public functionaries, can either act as the substitute for or stimulant to dynamism in administration. Institution-building is in itself a creative process of evolving and becoming - a continuing endeavour of faith and hope rather than the finished product of a set formula either of intellectual sophistication or of administrative pragmatism.

THE EMERGENCE OF MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTIONS
IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES*

* FROM ELEMENTS OF INSTITUTION-BUILDING FOR INSTITUTES OF PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT, UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK, 1982.

The establishment of institutes of management training in several developing countries was a consequence of, among other things, the prevailing American and Western European public administration models and programmes in the 1950s and 1960s. It is also worth noting that the emergence of the business-school model represented in specific cases mutual co-operation agreements between local and foreign institutions. The rapid emergence of these institutions also implied an acceptance of the idea that Western public administration and management systems possessed an inherent validity for their effective transfer to non-Western settings. However, that idea was becoming increasingly doubtful and was being replaced by a recommendation that the Western administrative systems should, rather, be adapted to local circumstances. It was also argued in some quarters that even if Western public administration and management did not possess a substantive base as an intellectual discipline, it had assembled and developed an impressive array of tools and techniques that were considered capable of aiding the administrative strategies of newly independent countries. Training institutes were seen as relevant vehicles for disseminating the new tools and techniques, and were considered to be powerful instruments not only for expanding administrative training but also for transmitting the necessary improvements to the administrative system. It has been observed in several studies that these assumptions were basic to the establishment of a network of technical assistance projects in the field of administrative training. Others have also noted that experts moved from place to place (sometimes on their own initiative), reiterating their recommendations for establishment of further institutes of public

administration. These experts moved from international advisory services to local institutional roles, and in some cases the advisers became the directors, and they moved easily between Western academic careers and training institutes in developing countries.

In the efforts to administer fast-expanding services, and in carrying out increased development programmes, governments of developing countries continued in the 1970s to encourage and foster various modes of public administration and management institutes. Some of the institutions were created and run directly by the governments themselves. Others emerged and developed through the intervention of internal or private agencies without direct government jurisdiction. Then there were some institutions which, fearing a diminishing role, had taken the difficult initiative of reviewing their effectiveness and reconstituting themselves into better instruments for reform and national development. As has already been suggested, the establishment of institutes of administrative and management training were in several instances inspired by a zeal for transferability of models for education and training. Since then it has become increasingly important to ascertain and evaluate the benefits and any disadvantages which have resulted. At the same time, more experiences were being sought and documented to explain the processes involved in the use of exogenous models and to determine how far such processes have aided or hindered administrative and management development in the developing countries. Questions have also been raised as to what it was exactly that was to be transferred or achieved through the medium of administrative training. To look at it another way, what in the nature and purpose of public administration and management would be capable of effective transfer or

adaptation? Would it be a series of universally valid skills or techniques; or a set of similarly culture-neutral attitudes; or would it be a question of imparting particular kinds of intellectual insight which would be expected to yield value - or culture - specific solutions to local problems?

Another concern was to determine the extent to which the state of the art of institution-building had developed and ascertain in what way it was better equipped than formerly to deal with the problems facing the current generation of development leaders. This concern was particularly relevant in view of the considerable dissatisfaction which seemed to exist in respect of actual development and progress made by many developing countries. This sense of dissatisfaction is caused by many complex factors not least of which is the elusive concept of development itself. The social welfare policies which are frequently espoused in plans for raising material production continue to fall short of ensuring meaningful and sustained improvement in the conditions of the common man. The ambitious aims of the 1960s for rapid societal change in the newly independent African countries, for example, have been found to contrast starkly with the harsh realities that have been documented during the 1970s. Many developing countries acknowledge that they still remain plagued by systematic persistent weaknesses in their administrative and managerial functions, despite the establishment of multifarious development institutions. If institution-building is a vital process of organizational planning, innovation and renovation for national development, then its perspectives have not successfully permeated the strategies and processes of development in these countries.

It has been repeatedly emphasized that there are no ready-made or homogenous solutions to the problems of building institutions and rendering them dynamic vehicles for fostering values and technologies for administrative reform and societal change. Developing countries differ very widely in their rates of change and development. They have diverse cultural mores and social practices, vast differences in the degree of political stability and in their interpretation and use of their historical heritage. Some are characterized by extremely low-level technology and extremely limited capacity to absorb it. Others have institutions which go back many centuries and which have to operate uneasily side by side with new incursions.

Virtually all developing countries use their public bureaucracies as the principal channels and instruments for steering their economic and social development. Planning to organize development efforts systematically and translating the plans into effective action constitute a significant function of administrations which are being increasingly confronted with new development tasks. The shift in the nature and scope of the tasks that public services are called upon to perform, from maintenance to development administration, necessitates not only changes in organization structures, work methods and procedures but also changes in guiding principles and values, attitudes, and perceptions of administrators.

NEW DEMANDS ON MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

Management development programmes have reached a critical juncture at this time. They were established during the past three decades,

although they vary in age and strength in different developing countries. There is no denying the fact that most institutions did make certain contributions of the development of management in their respective societies. However, there is a growing feeling by now that many of them have tended to become organizations carrying on routine activities which have little or no impact on public management for development. It is true to say that they do not generally belong to the mainstream of development, and do not influence the environment of their milieu. They simply exist and survive. In general their tendency has been to adopt rather than adapt.

On the other hand, the public management needs and importance in the developing countries are increasing rapidly. The rate of increase will grow further in the 1980s because of changing socio-political and economic environments. In these circumstances, it is imperative to analyse the role of management development institutions to determine their present status, and effectiveness with a view to formulating strategies and ideas for their revitalization to meet the challenge of the 1980s.

Management development has somehow come to be identified exclusively with institutes of public administration and management. This is an erroneous concept. Management development is the responsibility of a large number of institutions, particularly those included in the central guidance cluster, e.g., planning commission, finance ministry, civil service commissions, administrative reform departments, etc.

In order to bring out all the dynamic aspects of management development, one has to consider the role of all the institutions concerned with it and include all the activities relevant to it. It is in this context that the present study analyses management development institutions.

One of the major issues in the area of management development has been the lack of explicit and locally relevant management models. Over the years, several postulates and models of management have been developed and propagated. The various models have gone through an entire cycle but still the problems of public management persist in the developing world. In the 1950s, it was thought that Western models could be replicated in the developing countries. Later, it was believed that existing models could be adapted to advantage by the developing countries. More recently, it was believed that each society or group should develop its own models or styles of management. Management development programmes, as pointed out earlier, are only one element of the process; they should not be exaggerated. Moreover, to be effective, they require conditions conducive to their effectiveness and these may not always be present. In addition, the success of national development depends on a number of other variables such as resource availability, international economic relations and political processes. It also has temporal and spatial dimensions. All these factors make it desirable to bring out a clear definition of the scope of management development in order to provide it with a realistic image and basis for the appraisal of its contribution. Such a definition should include articulation of parameters within which management development has to function.

Lack of identification and proper segmentation of the different groups and levels of clientele for management has been one of the weaknesses. By and large, there has been an emphasis on middle management to the exclusion of critical levels of public managers, namely, the top political echelons and senior administrators. This may have been one of the reasons for the emergence of the reciprocal making of scapegoats among different levels and groups of public managers. Dichotomies of perception of management at different levels have tended to create problems.

There have been perceptible differences between the teaching of public management and actual practice of management. While the management development institutions have tended to propagate "academic" and "borrowed" concepts of management, the line managers were forced to a more pragmatic approach. This has been one of the factors contributing to the credibility problem of management development institutions in the eyes of line managers and the larger environment.

Among the serious problems has been the question of interface between politics and management. This has many dimensions. One is the significant difference between the political criteria and management approaches to issues of national development. Another dimension has been perhaps the commitment of political leadership to the kind of management processes advocated by management development institutions. On the whole, the relationship between political echelons and management personnel and approaches has been one of uneasy alliance. Some tendencies among public managers themselves as well as in the management development activities may have aggravated the problem; for example, the elitist to

respond to political directives and realities as well as outright neglect of the aspirations of the common man. Even among the public services in particular and the national leadership in general there may have been inadequate common or shared knowledge. In many cases it is even doubtful that the management development institutions share common parlances, philosophies and assumptions about public management in their respective societies. Thus gaps may have emerged between management development institutions and their immediate and ultimate clientele.

Management development institutions have also frequently confined their offerings to generalized courses of management rather than relating their activities more effectively to the national priorities. The doctrines used by them have not always been the off spring of the socio-cultural ethos. In these circumstances management development institutions have sometimes been left out of the mainstream of national development, thus further reinforcing their isolation from national realities.

Because of the intractable nature of management problems, on the one hand, and the limited effectiveness of management development institutions, on the other hand, debates have continued on such issues as: universal applicability of management development; political context and respective responsibilities of different institutions. The time has now come to sort out some of these problems if management development institutions are to become a part of the mainstream of development to contribute effectively to it.

ROLE OF MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTIONS

The management development institutions have to play a major role in implementing the new approaches to public management as well as in meeting the changing needs of their societies. In this regard, the first requirement for them is to clarify their role vis-a-vis other management development institutions. In view of the multiplicity and magnitude of problems of development, management development institutions tend to be overwhelmed by the broad, and at times ambiguous, perception of their roles. It is important to project a realistic and feasible role both to ensure their ability to deliver and to enforce accountability of their performance.

One of the urgent tasks that needs to be undertaken by management development institutions is to promote the formulation and dissemination of public management models that reflect the societal ethos at large, by mapping the contours of emerging concepts of management such as those discussed earlier.

There are difficult questions involved in the proper mix of activities of the management development institutions in terms of imparting knowledge, teaching skills or modifying attitudes of the persons coming to them for training. There is widespread agreement that it is a legitimate function of the management development institutions to impart knowledge and teach skills. However, there remain questions about the practicability of engaging in activities designed to modify attitudes and behaviour. Some observers believe that management development courses cannot modify attitudes which may have been formed by the educational system or which are in any case the products of

socio-economic dynamics. None the less, it is generally agreed that management development institutions ought to engage in appropriate activities in this regard particularly through practising what they preach and setting examples. It also means that management development institutions ought to analyse the educational and stylistic profile of their managers with a view to formulating more realistic strategies and methods for management development. In reorienting their educational systems developing countries may have to take into account the necessity of inculcating basic national values and consciousness of citizenship. Some countries have already started changing their educational curricula and, to a limited extent, even their management development programmes to emphasize more national ethos, culture and values.

The most viable location of management development institutions has also been raised as one of the issues concerning their effectiveness. It is sometimes argued that it is necessary to give them autonomy while at other times the question is posed that the real issue is their isolation from the development scene and the urgent need for their greater involvement with the government. In fact, it is even advocated in some quarters that their constituencies should be so organized as to exert more influence on their programme activities. Moreover, in developing their activities they need to bring about a balance between immediate concerns of the government and long-range innovative practices. In any case the most effective entry points for them is to focus upon strategic problems of their societies and also to be ready to seize opportunities for introducing innovations.

The institutional capabilities of the management development institutions have frequently been limited, particularly in terms of trained manpower. Most intellectual activities require a critical mass to yield results and for this reason it is important to increase the institutional capabilities of the management development institutions themselves to enable them to achieve a greater degree of effectiveness. The management development institutions must prepare their own strategic plans to meet some of the demands imposed on them rather than continue to undertake ad hoc activities. Such strategic planning is needed to come up with a proper mix between training, research and consultancy activities and also between immediate and future needs of public management.

In addition, management institutions must learn and develop methods and procedures on how to assess this effectiveness of programmes, developed and implemented, the merit of new ideas with programmatic implications in terms of outcome. Such synthesizing of activities will enable them to draw up alternatives and preferences as a basis or guide for future action, and will make them innovative and purposeful.

MANAGEMENT PERFORMANCE FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT:
PACKAGED TRAINING OR CAPACITY BUILDING*

BY

GEORGE H. HONADLE
&
JOHN P. HANNAH

* FROM PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT, VOL. 2, 295-307
(1982).

SUMMARY

Development project training has two objectives: a direct objective to improve organizational performance and an indirect objective to enhance an organization's ability to function effectively within a changing environment. Traditional training approaches that emphasize knowledge transfer fail to meet these objectives because they are place-oriented and thus emphasize giving standardized training to groups of unrelated trainees at a particular facility; they emphasize teaching the skills trainers know rather than determining management needs or building upon knowledge trainees already possess; learning is expected to occur by inference from artificial examples rather than by attacking real problems; trainees are generally drawn from only one management level at a time; actual performance and skills are not examined; and training is treated as a discrete event rather than as just one ripple in a constant stream of management development activity.

To overcome these six weaknesses, an alternative approach is advocated. That approach has two major characteristics: it is action oriented and it has an organizational capacity development bias rather than a transfer of knowledge to individuals bias. The action orientation and enhancement orientation are described in detail, the approach is illustrated by a Jamaican example, and implications of adopting an action-based approach are suggested. The authors contend this alternative approach is practical, necessary, and rewarding to those who engage in it.

INTRODUCTION

By their very nature, development projects place added and often conflicting demands on organizational relationships, planning and administrative systems, and individual skills. The strains of these demands are particularly evident in projects planned and managed at sub-national levels that have an area development focus.

Conventional strategies for increasing institutional capability to plan and manage such projects view demands on individuals, organizations and systems as separate. Since these strategies most frequently focus

on training programmes to transfer generic management skills (such as scheduling, monitoring and control) to individuals it is not surprising that the results have frequently not produced improved project performance. Obscured in the conventional view is the fact that the skills and knowledge provided have no relation to organizational job requirements or that the organizations are not prepared to utilize those skills effectively. This is because conventional training programmes are designed on the basis of what 'experts' consider to be the knowledge and skills that 'effective' managers require rather than what organizations are actually prepared to do to improve performance.¹

This general failing of conventional management training programmes is the result of particular weaknesses in the approach. These weaknesses are identified in the paper and an alternative approach is presented.

In brief, the alternative, or capacity-building, approach views training as having a two-fold purpose. First, it aims to improve the performance of an organization or project in achieving objectives. Second, training aims to enhance an organization's capacity to cope creatively with a changing and uncertain environment. Consequently, the long-term objective is developmental capacity while the short-term objective is more efficient and effective organizational action.

Field staff often may suspect the intentions of outsiders who diagnose a need for change. However, since 'training' is recognized as a legitimate dimension of project implementation, it offers an entry point for the start of capacity-building measures.

WEAKNESSES IN CONVENTIONAL TRAINING PRACTICES

Experience with training institutes and training activities in Africa, Asia and Latin America suggests six common weaknesses in the way training is typically provided. These weaknesses are identified in what follows.

-
1. On a larger scale this problem permeates the entire development process. See, for example, Heyer et al. (1981) Moris (1981), Berger (1974), Freire (1973).

Weakness I: place-orientation

The existence of a training facility creates pressure to use it in order to justify the high capital and operating costs. As a result, there is a place-oriented bias in management training which measures success in participant-days rather than improved project performance.

Moreover, trainee selection is likely to be based on 'who is available' and 'what organizations will pay' rather than on whose involvement is needed to improve project implementation. Training is often viewed as a bonus; a trip away from the project site rather than as a process leading to improved performance. Those sharing the training experience may not share any working relationship. Their return to work is often accompanied by frustration since colleagues are apt to be uninterested in or sceptical about the need for change. In fact, the use of new methods too often ends up as only vague recollections of 'how we did it at the institute'.

This is a common weakness. Bringing together unrelated trainees from different levels and organizations and processing them through a standard skill package in a neutral location has not been a demonstrably successful way of improving project performance.

Weakness II: dictation-orientation

Much management training assumes a one-way transfer of skills - from trainers to trainees. Instead of emphasizing the exciting possibilities of a mutual learning experience, a more common emphasis is on dictation and absorption.

There are four important problems with this approach. First, it assumes that a relatively limited set of management and organization skills exist in the local environment. However, experience suggests that both technical² and managerial³ skills often do exist within the local environment, which indicates that this assumption is often false.

-
2. For an overview of the importance of 'Indigenous Technical Knowledge' (ITK), see Chambers and Moore (1979).
 3. For a discussion of 'folk management' skills held by villagers, see Iversen (1979).

Second, a dictation orientation assumes that a reasonably well-defined body of project management skills exists. If those skills are transferred to individuals - so the logic goes - the result will be organizational change. This connection is not supported by our experience (Hannah, Owens and Mickelwait, 1981; Honadle et al., (1980); Walker, 1981).

Third, this approach assumes that trainers' skills are the best ones for the trainees to learn. In a sense this is professional ethnocentrism. It says 'My experience is the solution to your problem. Thus the emphasis is on the supply of techniques rather than the need for decisions and actions. This discourages the development of new solutions and may compound the difficulties (Moris, 1981).

Finally, in an era when a North-South dialogue and an interdependent view of human relationships is espoused, it is doubtful that this style of interaction will not be well received by many host country trainees. It is simply not a good example of the way the development process could be structured.

This weakness is most pronounced in activities where standardized, predetermined training programmes are used. It suggests a ritualized rather than developmental approach to training and it is often based on belief that methods developed and applied within infrastructure projects can be readily transferred across cultures, projects, sectors and organizational settings.

Weakness III: inference-orientation

The place and diction emphasis of many training programmes leads to another problem. Since the trainees come from a variety of organizational settings, they often do not share a common experience base from which examples can be drawn and to which techniques can be applied. Instead the instructor builds a hypothetical case and the trainees are expected to bridge the gap between the fiction and reality.

This is learning by inference rather than learning by demonstration. A wide range of experience suggests that behaviour is more likely to be influenced by demonstration than by inference

(Honadle., 1981). The artificial nature of much training actually obstructs the transfer of skills into an action setting.

Weakness IV: single-level focus

How many workshops are titled for 'supervisors', 'senior management', or 'executives'? Such a stratified approach implies either that each level requires a different set of skills or that those higher up the ladder are reluctant to mingle with those on lower rungs, the first implication is suspicious since there is often little substantive difference among the various courses in prepackaged programmes. The second implication may actually reinforce the problem.

Organizational problems are not all horizontal; co-ordination among equal units is not the only implementation difficulty. Many issues relate to interactions among levels and thus a multilevel involvement is necessary to resolve many crucial operational questions.

Furthermore, improved organizational performance requires dealing with the organization as a structured unit rather than just as an unstructured collection of individuals. This means that effective training will go beyond a single-level focus to an emphasis on both vertical and horizontal linkages which effect performance. Trainee groups should thus include representatives of multiple levels.

This logic also extends to actors outside the project organization. To resolve problems and gain commitments by the critical actors it may be necessary to involve either villagers or capital city based bureaucrats, or both, in project-level workshops.

Weakness V: over-emphasis on organizational stock

A common assumption in project management training is that improved knowledge is a sufficient condition to improve behaviour. However, this is seldom true.

An illustration of the weakness of this assumption is drawn from an Asian experience. In one project responsibility for each project vehicle is assigned to one individual. That person receives a standard

monthly cash allotment to cover fuel and routine maintenance costs. Though the practice does minimize false expense claims, it provides a strong incentive not to make frequent trips to isolated rural areas because this increases both fuel costs and the likelihood of minor repairs. Since any unspent funds can be kept by the individual but any costs exceeding the allotment must come from the individual's own pocket, the procedure is an effective deterrent to delivering services to rural areas, monitoring fieldwork, or working collaboratively with villagers (Honadle, 1982).

Thus raising the stock of organizational resources by providing vehicles (material resources) or training (human resources) is not alone likely to influence performance. Until the incentive system is examined it is impossible to determine the probability that managerial training will have any meaningful impact upon management behaviour. Unfortunately, most training programmes ignore this fact and proceed as if individual skill improvement were a necessary and sufficient condition for improving organizational performance.⁴

Weakness VI: training as discrete activity

The combination of the weakness already noted produces a situation where each course or workshop gains an independent identity and becomes a discrete, time-bound occurrence than just one ripple in a constant stream of management development activity. This situation is unsatisfactory. When training is isolated as a separate event it becomes an end rather than a means.⁵

The line of causality, then, is circular: discrete treatment of training leads to an emphasis on inference, organizational stock, single-level treatment, dictation and site boundeness. In turn, these emphases reinforce discrete training at the expense of continuous

-
4. Not only must management training focus on incentives and behaviour in addition to skills, but also different training strategies should be integrated into an overall personnel management system which takes into account non-project objectives and the rapidity of both lateral and vertical personnel movements. See Honadle (1980).
 5. Failure to consider incentives is a common failing of most development activities, of a training nature or otherwise. An emerging theory of development

management development. The result is less effective training and less believable trainers.

Neither of these results is desirable. Moreover, both can be avoided to a large degree. In fact, during the past decade various attempts have been made to develop alternative approaches. For example, Moriss (1977) identified weaknesses in western management concepts based on East African experience and suggested a non-dictation approach to management training, Benor and Harrison (1977) have advocated the 'training and visit' approach to agricultural extension as a way to avoid the inference orientation and the problem of training as a discrete activity. The ILO also includes analytical and training exercises in their management development assistance. Further, much of the literature on 'organization development' fits training into more comprehensive approaches to organizational change (French and Bell, 1973; Kilman et al., 1976). At the same time, however, the traditional approach remains common.

What follows in this paper is an overview of, and experience with, an approach which directly confronts all six weaknesses. An extension of alternatives noted above, it moves beyond packaged training toward developmental capacity building.

AN ALTERNATIVE TO TRADITIONAL PRACTICES

The strategy described here is based on numerous efforts to improve the management of rural development. Beginning with empirical research on factors contributing to project success (Moriss et al., 1976), an experience base has accumulated with project designs, long-term technical assistance for implementation, and short-term activities emphasizing management development.

Since 1978 the AID-funded project on the 'Organization and Administration of Integrated Rural Development' has been providing short-term management development assistance to 23 rural development programmes in 18 countries of Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America. Along with that assistance, project staff have engaged in

action research to improve the practice of rural development management.⁶ Based on this experience and research, an alternative to traditional practices has been developed and applied. This alternative is predicated on two important characteristics: an action orientation and an enhancement focus.

Action orientation

Instead of a place orientation, an action orientation is used. This includes the following characteristics:

- (i) The basic units of training are work groups instead of individuals collected from numerous related settings.
- (ii) Real problems are used as the subject matter for workshops.
- (iii) Workshops, where the application of methods to actual problem situations occur, are common.
- (v) Activities are usually conducted at or near the project site to lower costs, examine local performance constraints, allow participants to return to their homes at night, and introduce action-oriented training as an integral part of project management.
- (vi) Workshops are treated as activities which blend into planning, counselling, co-ordination and evaluation functions and seen as concentrations of normal processes.
- (vii) Decisions, commitments and actions are emphasized.
- (viii) An examination of incentives or disincentives for targeted behavioural changes is incorporated into group discussions, exercises and decisions.

These eight attributes of an action orientation deal directly with most of the weaknesses of traditional training: the place bias is minimized, multiple organizational levels are involved, use of real problems involves demonstration rather than reliance on inference, the discreteness of training is de-emphasized, and the focus goes beyond

organizational stock to incentives and performance. The one weakness not touched by the action orientation is the reliance on dictation as the style of interaction. This is addressed by a focus on enhancement.

Enhancement focus

An enhancement approach to management development emphasizes the organization and attempts to focus participant knowledge and skills on pertinent issues rather than transferring trainer knowledge and skills to trainees. To do this, it is necessary for the consultant to discover critical issues and priorities. Interviews and observations before the workshop may be used to gather this data. Exercises during the workshop may also prove useful.

Once critical issues have been identified, various organizing mechanisms can be used as the basis for large and small group exercises in applying the mechanisms. In such a situation, the trainee provides the knowledge while the trainer/consultant introduce the organizing framework.

An example of such a framework is presented in Figure 1. Using this decision tree participants are forced to consider problems caused by different solutions to an initial problem. It serves to sharpen and concentrate knowledge they already possess into a specific issue.

When such a framework is used in a session where senior managers, supervisors, field technicians and farmers are represented, it can mix knowledge in new ways as the different actors learn about the others' uncertainties and difficulties. Moreover, it can be used as the basis for group problem solving and follow-up action.

An enhancement approach, then, has the following characteristics:

- (a) respect for participant knowledge
- (b) use of frameworks to focus trainee knowledge
- (c) constant trainer flexibility to readjust schedules and exercises in the light of new data pretested by participants

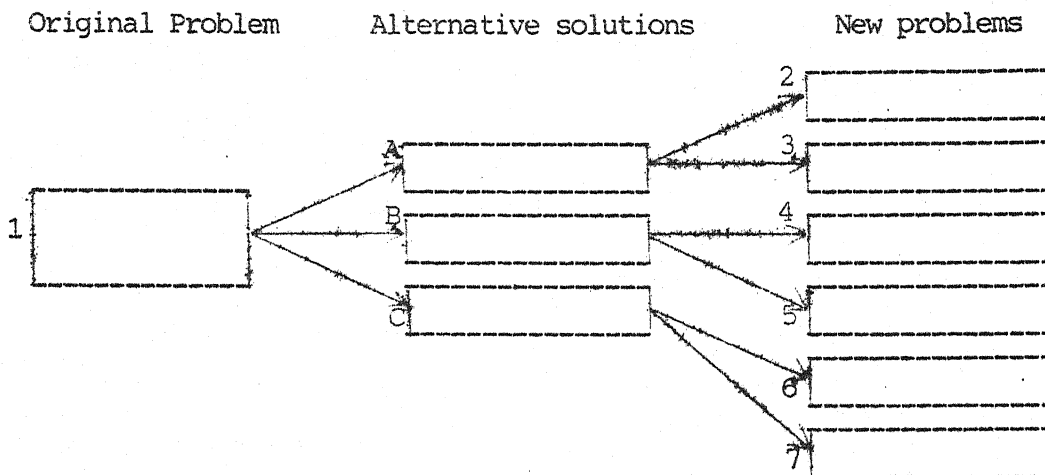


Figure 1. Decision tree. Solutions create problems and, unless this is considered, we can make situations worse by creating difficulties which are greater than the original problem. To use this decision tree: enter a problem in box 1; identify three alternative solutions and enter them in boxes A, B and C; identify two problems created by each solution and write them in boxes 2-7; after considering the new problems, choose a solution.

- (d) interactive approaches involving participants in redesigning workshops to meet performance needs
- (e) an engagement by trainers with the substance of the development process and the establishment of a partnership among 'outsiders' and 'insiders' involved in efforts to improve village conditions and promote self-sustaining development.

Although the above perspective has roots in the traditions of organizational development,⁷ it also exhibits a departure from the main thrust of organization development practice. First, the focus extends outside the organizational boundary to encompass beneficiaries. Thus an external accountability element and view of mission are added. This gives this focus much in common with recent emphases on 'bureaucratic reorientation'⁸ whereas methods are borrowed from the community

7. The organization development literature is voluminous, but it deals almost entirely with experience in industrial nations. See, for example, French and Bell (1973), Schein (1969), Margulies and Raia (1972) and Abrahamson (1978).

8. This emerging focus is outlined by Korten and Uphoff (1981). Also see Brinkerhoff (1979).

development and organization development literature, but the stress is on empowering bureaucrats to empower villages.

Second, this perspective goes beyond the cognitive emphasis of organizational development to include structural considerations. Incentive systems and resource bases are seen as critical dimensions of organizational performance. Moreover, the way the organization fits into the local social structure becomes important. This idea has recently been expressed in an expansion of an old saying.⁹

Give a man a fish,
And he can eat that day;
Teach a man to fish
And he can eat for the rest of his life.
But
Who owns the fish?

Thus considerations such as land tenure systems, local government structure and organizational procedures are important. They determine who has access to what resources and what incentives exist for them to be used in alternative ways. Without examining these issues there is little chance that 'training' efforts will have much effect on field experiences.

FIELD EXPERIENCE

One example of an action-oriented enhancement approach occurred with the second Integrated Rural Development Project in Jamaica. In this case, exercises were based on actual situations occurring during the implementation of the Development Project, they involved project staff in generating plans for their own action, and they also emphasized raising the ability of project personnel to deal with new situations as they arose. Furthermore, although the visiting consultants provided both a framework for confronting problems and a process for generating

9. The relationship between this saying and capacity building is elaborated by Honadle (1981).

group initiatives, the workshops were - in a very real sense - self-designed by the participants.¹⁰

The visit was prompted by a USAID evaluation which identified lack of implementation capacity as a major hindrance to project effectiveness (Curtis et al., 1980). A preliminary visit was made in February 1980 by a member of the team, who then spent three weeks at the project site in May 1980. During the three-week visit, the first week was spent interviewing project staff and beneficiaries. The last two weeks were spent conducting two two-day workshops and one one-day workshop at field sites in the project area. What follows illustrates how the trainers helped project staff to respond to a problem identified by the staff.

One of the objectives consistently articulated by project staff was the self-reliance of village organizations called Development Committees. However, these committees commonly lacked self-reliance and, as creations of the Development Project, they depended too much on the Project for guidance and resources.

To address this issue, the Project staff conducted an analysis of the forces encouraging self-reliance and those inhibiting it. This 'force field analysis' was the first step towards a strategy for strengthening local Development Committees.

The next step in the process was to identify the present condition of the Development Committees, articulate what they should be like at the end of the project, and suggest some ways to reach an intermediate point. This exercise focused on four dimensions: membership, resource base, functions and skills.

Small groups were used to develop attributes of the committees' present and future conditions. A plenary session was then convened to synthesize the views. The present attitude of most Developmental committee leaders was depicted as 'dependency on the Integrated Rural Development Project'. More specifically, the present status of the Developmental Committees was described as follows:

10. For details about the Jamaica IRDP project, see Honadle (1981, pp.61-70), Honadle et al. (1980a), Armor et al. (1981) and Goldsmith and Blustain (1980).

- (i) Membership: older, male, wealthy landowners, agricultural society members; varies from place to place; not representative of their community.
- (ii) Resource base: dependent upon Project funds and skills, reluctant to use their own individual resources, lack of collective resources.
- (iii) Functions: grouching (complaining) forum; public relations assistance to project; identifying community needs, two-way communication; providing advice on Project-fund use; helping farmers to organize themselves.
- (iv) Skills: some craft skills, traditional farming skills, limited management and organizational skills, highly skilled at begging, low membership skills, little ability to identify and act on their own needs (varies), some communication skills.

By the end of the project, however, the goal was for the Development Committees to look very different from their existing configuration. The ideal was to have them achieve a heightened sense of community awareness and responsibility. More specifically, the objectives for each dimension were described as follows:

- (a) Membership: broad based, revolving.
- (b) Resource base: drawn from other organizations, community contributions, financed from operations, organized with Treasury Committee.
- (c) Functions: seek solutions to community problems, become independent of government/foreign donor funds, provide information to the community, identify their own purposes and development programmes to achieve them.
- (d) Skills: organization and management, leadership, financial management, technical (agricultural), education/communication; creativity and ability to respond to new ideas; ability accurately to identify community needs.

To help close the gap between the immediate reality and long-term idea, the project staff generated some indicators for intermediate objectives and actions that could help achieve the intermediate stage. These objectives and actions are displayed in Table 1. This can be seen as a significant step toward creating a strategy for building the capacity for post-project survival within the Development committees. Moreover, it began deliberations on a key issue, since Development Committee capacity was seen as necessary for benefits to be self-sustaining after the project investment had terminated.

This topic's choice was based on intensive pre-workshop interviews as well as on data generated during the workshop. A preliminary trip two months before the intervention and a substantive follow-up six months later set the pattern for such exercises as a normal dimension of Project implementation.

This work was later judged to have had some direct impact on project management. Revisions of procedures and new ways of approaching beneficiary groups did result.¹¹ Moreover, the stage was set for follow-up work which more directly addressed sustainability and replicability issues, as well as structural deficiencies both within the project organization and in its links to local institutions.¹²

In sum, then, the Jamaican experience incorporated non-packaged training approaches into the implementation process. Additionally, it went beyond simple cognitive strategies to address defects in project strategy and local organizational capacities. This is a key point. Unless training leads into assessments of resource bases and incentives, it will skim over the central barriers to positive impact. This lead in occurred with the Project. Nevertheless, basic issues remain to be resolved (Crawford, 1981; Goldsmith and Blustein, 1980), and changes in the Jamaican political environment will influence how, or if, those issues will be settled.

11. That was identified in an AID evaluation of the project on the Organization and Administration of Integrated Rural Development.

12. See Armor et al. (1981) for an examination of structural and substantive problems as well as documentation of a follow up visit.

Table I. An intermediate point in development committee evolution

Dimension	Characteristics	How to get there
Membership	Increase turnover in membership; meetings consider fewer individual problems and more community ones; balanced membership.	Monitor meetings, integrate local extension staff into formation of committees; develop rules for revolving membership and interest group; geographical area representation; increase numbers; farmers without farm plans.
Resourcebase	Fund raising activity beginning; begin to systematically identify their own resources; fewer demands on the Project; non-project funded activity occurring; 60/40 farmer Project Participation in resources used.	Train/educate committees; help committees to begin their activities.
Functions	Accomplish community tasks with little help from Project; committee passes technical information to farmers not directly contacted by the Project.	Training in carrying out the tasks.
Skills	Improve organization and leadership; ability to select new members; takes less time to do things; fund raising.	Give them experience with guideline let them develop their own proposals for solving problems and identifying community needs instead of just individual ones; training; demonstrations; field days; fund raising assistance.

Similar approaches were used elsewhere. For example, from 1977 to 1981 the same methods were applied with mixed groups of farmers and civil servants to help build capacity within irrigation associations in the Philippines; combinations of personal one-to-one consultations and group workshops were used in 1979 and 1980 to enhance project performance in Liberia; from 1978 to 1982 village groups and senior district officials engaged in similar activities in Indonesia; and an intermittent pattern of training and action is seen as essential to the ongoing process of administrative decentralization in Egypt. Thus field experience suggests that an action-oriented enhancement approach is necessary, practical and can be implemented.¹³

CONCLUSION: BEYOND PACKAGES AND TOWARD PERFORMANCE

This paper has identified major problems with traditional training approaches and offered an action-based/enhancement strategy as an alternative. That alternative depicts training as an integral part of the ongoing process of organization, management and system development. Training is also seen as a legitimate entry point for more comprehensive approaches to improving organizational performance and project strategy.

Adopting such an alternative approach has practical implications involving substance, process and personnel. Some of these implications are:

- (a) Training staff must become involved actors in the implementation process rather than remaining aloof from the issues involved in making programmes work.
- (b) Training must focus outward on issues of organization, policy and beneficiary participation in project decision making rather than inward on curriculum development and training techniques.

13. This experience follows the strategy posited by Armor et al. (1979).

- (c) Training efforts and project designs should avoid 'bypass' strategies which ignore pre-existing local institutions and capacities by importing management enclaves or training packages.
- (d) the training substance should make use of knowledge and skills already in the environment rather than emphasizing the importation of new skills.
- (e) The design of training activities or development projects should be seen as an element of capacity building rather than as a discrete event and thus the design/implementation dichotomy should be eliminated.
- (f) Training should be recast as management development and action planning consultation. Follow-on consultation and evaluation should be seen as continual, overlapping parts of the management development and performance process.
- (g) The training target should be organizational rather than just individual. Therefore, on-site, work group-focused, multilevel activity should become common, and an emphasis on incentives and resource bases should become routine.

Such changes would make trainer and implementers partners in a learning and problem solving process. They take organizational capacity out of the 'residual' category and put it at centre stage where it belongs. This is, in fact, the essence of development. It moves beyond training for individuals toward an action-based approach to enhancing organizational performance and capability. Much remains to be done. The above approach is no panacea, but some of the most rewarding moments in rural development will be experienced by those who try it, improve it, and take up the challenge of moving beyond packaged training.

REFERENCES

- Abrahamson, R. (1978). An Integrated Approach to Organizational Development and Performance Improvement Planning, Kumarian Press, West Hartford, Conn.
- Armor, T., Honadle, G., Olson, C. and Weisel, P. (1979). 'Organizing and supporting integrated rural development projects: a two-fold approach to administrative development', Journal of Administration Overseas, 18, 276-286.
- Armor, T., Dodd, R., Jackson, B. and VanSant, J. (1981). Management Support to the Jamaican Ministry of Agriculture Second Integrated Rural Development Project, IRD Field Report. Development Alternatives, Inc., Washington, D.C.
- Benor, D. and Harrison, J. (1977). Agricultural Extension: The Training and Visit System, The World Bank, Washington, D.C.
- Berger, P. (1974). Pyramids of Sacrifice, Basic Books, New York.
- Brinkerhoff, D. (1979). 'Inside public bureaucracy: empowering managers to empower clients', Rural Development Participation Review, 1, 7-10.
- Chambers, R. and Moore, M. (1979). 'Rural development: whose knowledge counts?', IDS Bulletin, 10(2).
- Crawford, P. (1981). Implementation Issues in Integrated Rural Development: A Review of 21 USAID Projects, IRD Research Note No. 2, Development Alternatives, Inc., Washington, D.C.
- Curtis, R., Lowenthal, J. and Castro, C. (1980). Evaluation of Pindars River and Two Meeting Integrated Rural Development Project U.S. Agency for International Development, Kinagston, Jamaica.
- Freire, P. (1973), Education for Critical Consciousness, Seabury, New York.
- French, W. and Bell, C.H. Jr. (1973), Organization Development: Behavioural Science Intervention for Organisation Improvement, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs.

Goldsmith, A. and Blustain, H. (1980). Local Organization and Participation in Intergrated Rural Development in Jamaica, Cornell University Rural Development Committee, Ithaca.

Gow, D.D. and VanSant, J. (1981). Beyond the Rhetoric of Rural Development Participation: How Can It Be Done? IRL Working Paper No.9, a Development Alternatives, Inc., Washington. D.C.

Hannah, J.P., Owens, G.M. and Mickelwait, D.R. (1981), Building Institutional Capacity for Project Planning in Central Java, Indonesia, Developmental Alternatives, Inc., Washington, D.C.

Heyer, J., Roberts, P. and Williams, G. (eds.) (1981). Rural Development in Tropical Africa, St. Martins Press, New York.

Honadle, G. (1980). Manpower for Rural Development in Malawi: An Integrated Approach to Capacity Building, Development Alternatives, Inc., Washington, D.C.

Honadle, G. (1981). Fishing for Sustainability: The Role of Capacity Building in Development Administration. IRD Working Paper No.8, Development Alternatives, Inc., Washington. D.C.

Honadle, G. (1982). 'Supervising agricultural extension: practices and procedures for improving field performance', Agricultural Administration, 9,29-45.

Honadle, G. Armor, T., VanSant, J. and Crawford, P. (1980a). Implementing Capacity Building in Jamaica: Field Experience in Human Resource Development, IRD Field Report, Development Alternatives, Inc., Washington, D.C.

Honadle, G., Morss, E., VanSant, J. and Gow, D. (1980b). Integrated Rural Development: Making It Work?, Development Alternatives, Inc., Washington, D.C.

Iversen, R.W. (1979), 'Personnel for Implementation:a contextual perspective', in Honadle, G. and Klauss, R. (eds.) International Development Administration: Implementation Analysis for Developmental Projects, Praeger, New York.

Jackson, D.R., Gow, D., Crawford, P. and Rojas, H. (1981). IRD in Colombia: Making It Work, IRD Working Paper No.7, Development Alternatives, Inc., Washington, D.C.

Kilmann, R., Pondy, L., and Slevin, D. (eds.) (1976). The Management of Organization Design, 2 vols., Elsevier, North Holland, New York.

Korten, D. and Uphoff, N. (1981). Bureaucratic Reorientation for Participatory Rural Development, National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration, Washington, D.C.

Margulies, N. and Raia, A. (1972), Organization Development: Values, Processes and Technology, McGraw Hill, New York.

Moris, J.R. (1977). 'The transferability of Western management concepts and programmes: an East African perspective', Education and Training for Public Sector Management in Development Countries, Rockefeller Foundation, New York.

Moris, J.R. (1981). Managing Induced Rural Development, International Development Institute, Bloomington, Indiana.

Morss, E. Hatch, J., Mickelwait, D. and Sweet, C. (1976). Strategies for Small Farmer Development: An Empirical Study of Rural Development Projects, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado.

Morss, E. and Gow, D. (1981). Integrated Rural Development: Nine Critical Implementation Problems, IRD Research Note No.1, Development Alternatives, Inc., Washington, D.C.

Schein, E. (1969), Process Consultation: Its Role in Organization Development, Addison-Wesley, Reading, Massachusetts.

Walker, T. (ed.) (1981), Building Capacity for Decentralization in Egypt: Some Perspectives IRD Working Paper No.10, Development Alternatives, Inc., Washington, D.C.

TRAINING FOR SENIOR CIVIL SERVANTS AND PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATORS IN DECISION-MAKING FOR TECHNICAL CHOICE*
-- A DISCUSSION PAPER

BY
D.E.P. JENKINS

* FROM DECISION-MAKING IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE FOR CHOICE OF TECHNOLOGY:
REPORT OF A WORKSHOP OF SENIOR OFFICIALS, KUALA LUMPUR, MALAYSIA, 16-21
NOVEMBER, 1981.

SECTION 1

To make generalised statements about 'Training' is relatively easy, but identifying areas where training is needed and devising programmes to meet those needs is much more difficult.

There are a number of issues which must be raised at the outset so that a clear base is established for the discussion and, in so far as it is possible, the discussion can build on present knowledge and practice.

The term 'Training' raises problems of definition. If we begin our description of 'Training' by drawing comparisons with 'Education' then, in this context, it is generally regarded as being 'Vocational' and terms such as 'Objectives', 'Skill', 'Expertise' and so on will appear in the discussions. However, 'Training' for decision-making must surely be based on 'knowledge' (as compared to training for some other programmes, which would lead, for example, to 'rote' learning); thus, in our approach to the problem we are also concerned with elements of the 'educational' process.

The 'target group' must also be clearly identified: the research project concentrates on the decision-making process associated with the choice of a technology and, even though the Country Study reports raise issues concerning the effect of implementing a decision to adopt a particular technology, our target group is seen as senior civil servants and public administrators who have the task of making decisions relating to the initial choice. One can envisage a whole series of other training programmes designed to meet the needs of people associated with the technology throughout the particular society and these can range from training related to high-level managerial activities to the day-to-day work of a farmer working with the soil; but these, in our context, are activities associated with the implementation of decisions.

The problem which arises, as clearly pointed out in the Country Study Reports is that the person who has the responsibility for deciding which technology to choose, must be aware of the problems associated with the implementation of his decisions. However, training for

implementation is an aspect of the consequence of a decision to implement a technology choice rather than the decision itself.

The whole question is also influenced by the nature of the target group for which the programme of training is intended; it is essential to take into account the 'training' they will already have received by virtue of their formal education, training-on-the-job or specialised training courses they may have attended. Thus, we are concerned with building on what is already a substantial foundation, identifying weaknesses and rectifying these, defining the gaps and filling them.

There is also the interpretation of the term 'technology' itself, because the description adopted in a particular situation determines the context in which the 'training' has to be considered. The Country Studies lead us into an interpretation which is very much wider than the scientific and engineering aspects directly related to the machines and equipment which are actually purchased. They suggest, through different shades of meaning, that technology permeates through the whole of society and that those responsible for adopting a particular technology must take account of this as it affects their own society.

Thus, in summary, we can identify some of the parameters on which we can base the discussion:

The target group for 'training' is senior civil servants and public administrators.

The 'training' for this group must be based on 'knowledge and, if there are areas where the knowledge is inadequate, there will be an element of 'education' in the process - to improve the knowledge.

The target group will already have had substantial 'training' by virtue of their formal education, in service and on-the-job training, and special workshops, seminars and conferences.

The training under discussion is for decision-making in relation to the selection of a technology and not the training which may be necessary, at various other levels, following a decision to implement its adoption; a determined effort is necessary to identify:

- a. the improvements which can be made in the 'training' already received by the target group-with the objective of enhancing the contribution of that element of the process and thus improving the process itself
- b. the new elements of 'training' which are necessary to improve the process-arising out of the specific nature of decisions which have to be made in relation to choice of technology, as opposed to other choices;

A general expression of 'training' needs must clearly be a major element in the discussion, but this must be followed by an examination of at least some aspects of the detailed needs in some areas which would lead to practical solutions.

SECTION 2

Some work has already been done by the Commonwealth Secretariat on this topic through two Expert Group meetings. They were concerned with training and their reports give some interesting leads into the subject.

The first on Technology Options, met in August 1978 and, after careful analysis, came to the view that 'the transfer of technology is essentially an information and communication process, and clearly, access to an information service which functions as a channel to convey technological alternatives is indispensable'. After making the case for decentralised information centres, which would in effect be National Technological Services, the experts expressed the view that, for maximum effectiveness, their personnel 'should include professionals trained in science and technology who operate as communicators'. This, in effect, would be a new breed of information officer, for which there would be the need for specific training. They also came to the view that permanent, high level technological assessment units should be set up, 'staffed by a carefully selected multi-disciplinary team and located close to the centre of developmental decision-making'. In terms of creating a favourable climate for the technology assessment function, there are two complementary approaches which can be taken:

- a. the improvements which can be made in the 'training' already received by the target group-with the objective of enhancing the contribution of that element of the process and thus improving the process itself
- b. the new elements of 'training' which are necessary to improve the process-arising out of the specific nature of decisions which have to be made in relation to choice of technology, as opposed to other choices;

A general expression of 'training' needs must clearly be a major element in the discussion, but this must be followed by an examination of at least some aspects of the detailed needs in some areas which would lead to practical solutions.

SECTION 2

Some work has already been done by the Commonwealth Secretariat on this topic through two Expert Group meetings. They were concerned with training and their reports give some interesting leads into the subject.

The first on Technology Options, met in August 1978 and, after careful analysis, came to the view that 'the transfer of technology is essentially an information and communication process, and clearly, access to an information service which functions as a channel to convey technological alternatives is indispensable'. After making the case for decentralised information centres, which would in effect be National Technological Services, the experts expressed the view that, for maximum effectiveness, their personnel 'should include professionals trained in science and technology who operate as communicators'. This, in effect, would be a new breed of information officer, for which there would be the need for specific training. They also came to the view that permanent, high level technological assessment units should be set up, 'staffed by a carefully selected multi-disciplinary team and located close to the centre of developmental decision-making'. In terms of creating a favourable climate for the technology assessment function, there are two complementary approaches which can be taken:

For senior Personnel (Permanent Secretaries, Chairman/Managing Directors of State Corporations, etc.), - regional seminars, annually for three years (initially at least) and the aim would essentially 'to familiarise the participants with the potential consequences of wrong technological choices and foster awareness of the need to take the broad approach towards technological innovation.'

'For middle-level managers, technocrats and administrators - more formalised courses or workshops are feasible' - again on a regional basis. In this context, the Workshop Programme at the Science Policy Research Unit at Sussex University was cited as a scheme which might be adapted for use elsewhere. It is designed to 'assist developing countries to expand the skills and experience of professionals engaged in supporting administrators and policy-makers involved in the use of science and technology to promote social and economic development.'

'The underlying assumption is that policy makers in the developing countries wish to base their choices, decisions and actions on information more immediately related to their own experience....there is an obvious need for a stronger cadre of professionals to carry out these tasks, so that essential data for decision-making is available.'

The second met in April 1979 to consider 'Training Systems and Curriculum Development for Public Enterprise Management'. The target groups which they identified for specific training were:

Enterprise managers-at the top, middle or junior levels of management

Civil servants who are involved in the decision-making or management process

Members of the boards of directors - who are involved in the decision-making process that affect public enterprises.

A detailed range of subject matter is described for eleven areas for which training curricula should be developed:

Macro-National Perspectives of Public Enterprises;

Public Enterprise System

Organisational Structures, Institutional Patterns and Management Processes

Corporate Planning

Personnel Management

Management Information and Control Systems

Financing and Financial Management

Performance Evaluation

Marketing

Technology Choice

Materials Management.

Technological choice is clearly the one of major interest to us in this seminar. The rationale objectives for this section of training are :

The imperative need is 'an understanding of the various essential components of technology and also....the factors that govern... their choices at the time of finalising their choice'. 'The resource endowments of the country... and their use, the market input prices and their 'shadow' prices are all vital factors to be considered'

Technical collaboration with developed countries demands skills 'for negotiations with foreign agencies' and these should include the investigation of the contents of the technology for income distribution, further development of indigenous technology and the restraining role of patent rights'

the R & D efforts of public enterprises should be considered 'both with evolving substitute processes and products that will be more suitable to the social and economic conditions of the country, as well as ancillary elements which will contribute towards technological efficiency.'

The suggested topics to cover this area are:

'Technology and techniques - various components

Technology as a determinant of the growth process, employment and income distribution

The pros and cons of appropriate technology and its possible application in different contexts

Private and social cost considerations in the choices, market prices and shadow prices and their relevance to different industries

Patents and their implications

Problems of foreign collaborations

Research and Development : Organisations and priorities'.

SECTION 3

These extracts from the two reports cover a lot of the subect areas one would expect to see covered by training programmes and a detailed description of each of these areas would lead to a basis for actually designing such programmes.

However, such a step would have to be accompaigned by a careful examination of the appropriateness of these topics at different levels, since they are not equally appropriate at all levels. Furthermore, at the top levels of decision-making many of the topics described above fall into the category of essential but background expertise. Much of the emphasis at the top levels will be on the interaction between negotiating parties and between the persons individually responsible for carrying out negotiations. it will be a process of maximising information to produce optimum results. In this situation, the expertise of the top level decision-maker is of fundamental importance and whether this expertise is adequate to give them the competence to deal with this process of maximising and optimising, is the point at issue.

Clearly, there is a spectrum of expertise which is achieved by people in a given society and, to carry out their work effectively, the required 'mix' is determined to a large extent by the job profile.

There is evidence to suggest that those with professional training in engineering and science rarely reach the top decision-making position and, it is claimed, that this adversely affects the decision-making process. Be that as it may, it is clear that the majority of those in top decision-making posts who make the decisions, have professional training in law, finance, management, economics and so on (and not engineering and science) and that they are highly competent persons in their chosen professions; and yet many decisions which have been made in relation to technology choice have been challenged as being inappropriate.

There are, therefore, a number of questions which may be asked about technology choice decisions, the answers to which could provide guidelines for 'training' programmes; for example:

Why is it necessary to draw particular attention to this area of decision-making?

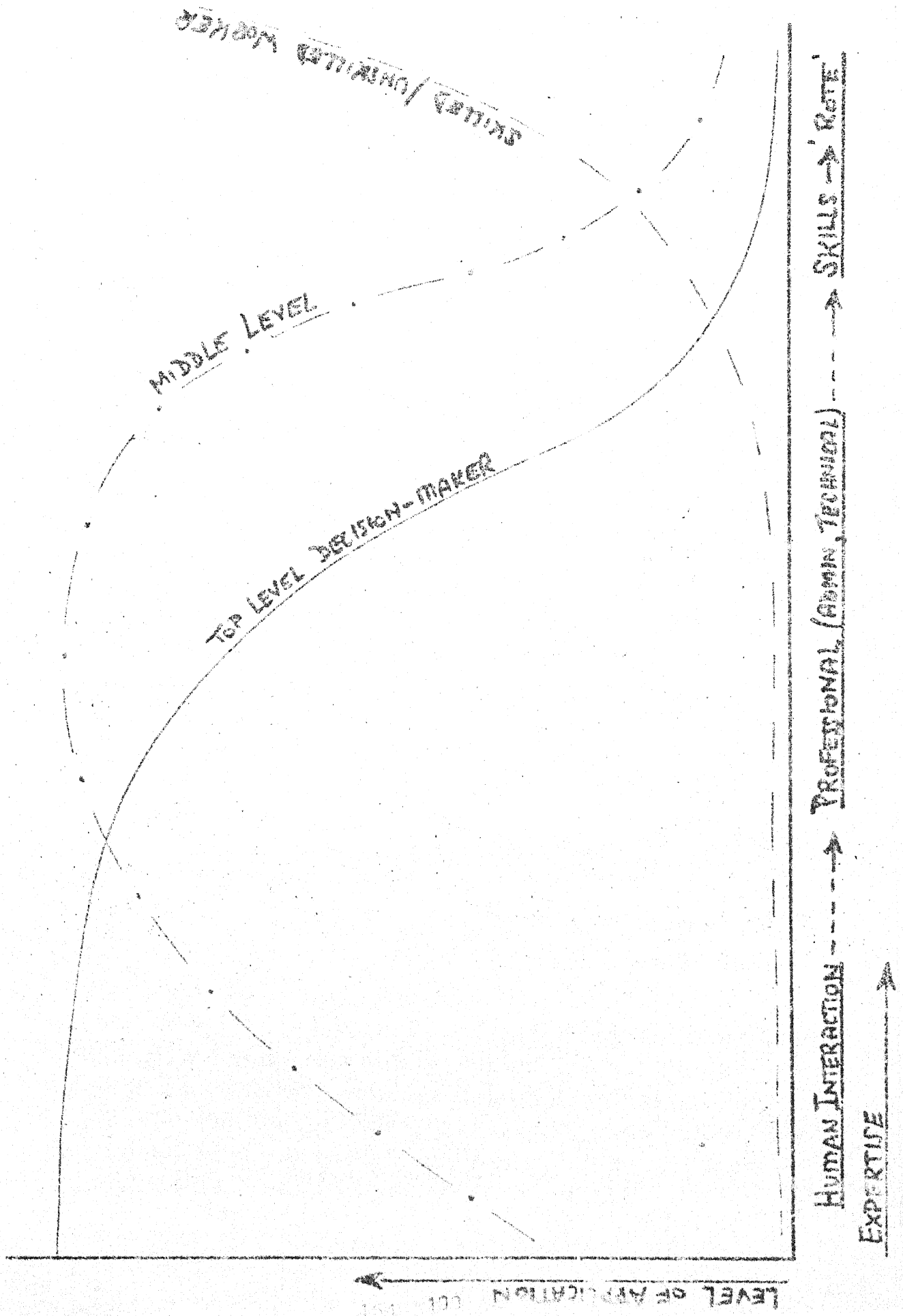
Should it be regarded as a normal part of the general decision-making procedures of Government, or does it have characteristics which make it different or special in some way?

If so, do we identify them and what are they?

Would a greater knowledge about the particular technology solve the problem, or do we have to face an inherently different problem when dealing with technology choice?

If it is a different problem, in terms of training, what are the elements in common with training for other kinds of decision-making?

What are the deficiencies in the current training methods for top decision-makers, who, according to their critics, demonstrate a performance in the field of technology choice which is inadequate?



Would those with professional training in engineering and science make better top level decision-makers for technological choice, or would they make decisions which were inadequate in some other way?

If it can be demonstrated (and not merely alluded to) that, in retrospect poor decisions were taken, is it possible to identify the steps in the process which made a direct contribution to this bad quality of decision-making? Do the detailed subject studies help towards this identification?

SECTION 4

Part of the problem undoubtedly arises from the fact that in most developing countries the roads to prosperity in the economic sense, leading to the alleviation of social injustices, is seen as an adoption of advanced technologies, which seem to have brought prosperity to highly industrialised countries. In the state of development of most developing countries, this can only be achieved by purchasing the technology - with the concomitant problems of seeking financial aid to realise the purchase. Now, advanced technologies could not exist without the support of highly sophisticated managerial and technical systems, which up to now have only been developed in highly industrialised countries. These highly sophisticated systems have developed their own characteristics and the people responsible for operating them have quite specific motives, which are related to the particular company they work for and to the fact that they are sellers. The decision-maker in a developing country represents the buyer and works within a less sophisticated and less rigorous system - a system which was established for a different purpose and which, in effect, has technology-choice decisions superimposed upon it.

Thus, when discussions and negotiations are taking place about the adoption of technology (whether by purchase or developing indigenous resources), two quite different systems are interacting, each with different motives and different degrees of expertise in relation to the technology. Thus, the persons who come together are not sufficiently well matched to produce maximum benefits to the buyer, and the buyer usually suffers. Seen from the position of those in the buying

countries who have to accept and implement the outcome of the negotiations and then deal with the consequences, this amounts simply to poor quality decision-making. Of course, it goes deeper than that because there is ample evidence to show that decisions made in highly industrialised countries about the adoption of technology within their own country, are frequently seen in retrospect as being the wrong decisions.

However, in terms of training for decision-making for technology choice, one can distinguish between two major areas of activity which have to be catered for in quite different ways. On the one hand:

There are the functions related to providing an acceptable level of interaction between the buyer and the seller, compatible with producing the maximum benefits to the buyer.

The roles with which individuals will be expected to identify themselves in this process of interaction.

On the other hand:

The supportive functions, up to the point of decision-making, which are necessary and which should be effective, within the buyer's national structure.

The roles which individuals will play in this process.

Clearly, since the same people may sometimes be involved in both the buyer-seller interaction and the national structure, there will be some inevitable overlap, but this supports the need for the distinction to be appreciated. The distinction, in itself, will go some way towards identifying the differences between the special characteristics of the process of technology choice in particular and those functions which are common to systems which are set up to support decision-making processes in the general sense.

SECTION 5

The problem of Training for Technical Choice has so many aspects to it that there seems to be a need to develop some form of structure which

can be used to identify some of the elements in discussion, and so help the process of analysis.

It is important to bear in mind that Senior Civil Servants and Public Administrators tend to make their careers in the service, thus creating an environment suitable for long-term training in a planned and progressive manner. One of the advantages of a reasonably stable system of this kind is that it builds up a great deal of potential for in-service training, and a great deal of expertise which can be used for more formal training procedures. An essential element of planning for training is the recognition Administrative and the 'Technical' arms of the Civil Service and Public Administration and the full potential cannot be realised until these two arms interact with maximum efficiency.

In a simplistic way, we can say, as a general statement:

Existing training (an experience) leads to	+	Improved training more effective	+	New training decision-making
--	---	--	---	------------------------------------

We can identify the media through which 'training' is generally acquired: Formal General Education; Formal Professional Education; In-service Training; Seminars; Structured Specialised Courses; and so on.

Furthermore, we can identify areas of activity where training can be applied effectively, and many of these are mentioned in the Country Studies. Some are selected here as examples and can be attributed to the two groups of activities noted in Section 4, as follows:

The Interaction Between Buyer and Seller:

buyer and seller relationships

seeking out the options - several available technologies
- several levels of technology

understanding a transfer package

financial implications, and agencies

assessment of technology - short and long term implications
- social and environmental effects

	Areas of Activity	Existing Training					Improved Training					New Training				
		Formal Education	Professional Education	In-Service Training	Courses		Formal Education	Professional Education	In-Service Training	Courses		Formal Education	Professional Education	In-Service Training	Courses	
<u>BUYER/SELLER RELATIONSHIPS</u>	Buyer/Seller Relationships															
	Identifying the options															
	The transfer package															
	Financial implications															
	Aid Agencies															
	Assessment of Technology															
	Range of vision															
	Human interaction															
	etc., etc.,															
<u>THE SUPPORTIVE FUNCTIONS</u>	National implications															
	National involvement															
	Finance, aid															
	The economy															
	Controls															
	Information & its processing															
	Communications															
	Meetings & their conduct															
	Links between administrators & technologists															
	etc., etc.,															

breadth of experience, range of vision

aspect of human interaction.

The Supportive Functions:

national implications

national involvement

finance, the economy, aid, etc.:

controls

information and its processing

communications

inter-ministerial meetings, links between departments

the relationship between the administrative and 'technical' arms
of the service

conduct of meetings, membership, papers, recording etc.

There are many, many more and many apply to both areas. These can be analysed in order to identify specific objectives for which discrete training programmes can be developed.

The Diagram suggests how various aspects discussed above can be represented visually in order to gain an overall picture of training needs. Not only can one show by which means training has, or can be, achieved; it can also indicate the value ascribed to, or the priority required for such elements of training. Clearly, there are a variety of ways in which the matrix can be drawn to suit personal tastes or to meet a particular planning objective.

SECTION 6

The Diagram is an attempt to identify the channels of information exchange which are set up and the consequent flow of activity which occurs in the stages up to the point where information is available on which a decision can be made.

Thus, we can see the flow of the process, what the inputs are, how they are generated and what effect they are likely to have on the process. From this, it is possible to examine the type of expertise required of the people engaged in the process, at various levels, and, as a logical outcome, the training necessary to carry out those jobs effectively.

Diagram Two illustrates some of the points at which interaction occurs when the buying and selling system meet, and also within inside the buying system itself. This also helps to focus attention on the areas where, according to the Country Studies, there are inadequacies and where it would appear that a useful purpose could be served by carefully designed training programmes. These two diagrams focus on areas where there are many intangibles, areas which are not fully explored in the two reports cited in Section 2 of this Paper.

THE ROLE OF TRAINING IN IMPROVING THE ORGANIZATION
AND ADMINISTRATION OF AGRICULTURAL SERVICES TO SMALL FARMERS*
-- STRATEGY AND OPERATIONAL ISSUES

BY
S. RAMAKRISHNAN
&
A. McCALLUM

* FROM IMPROVING THE ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF AGRICULTURAL SERVICES FOR SMALL FARMERS IN AFRICA, REPORT OF A REGIONAL EXPERT CONSULTATION HELD IN NAIROBI, KENYA, DECEMBER 1982.

INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, very little is done to provide training for those who administer agricultural development programmes in developing countries. For the main cadre of administrative Officers who administer programmes of central government at national, provincial and district levels there is little, if any, attention given in training programmes to the increasing complexity of the agricultural development process and role which governments play in its promotion. For the technocrats in ministries concerned with agriculture the emphasis of training generally has a strong technical orientation.

As governments have geared up their approach to agricultural development, undue emphasis has been placed on the planning and execution of individual projects, some of a very large scale and extremely comprehensive in their scope. This emphasis on projects is too often at the expense of broader development programmes, and uses a disproportionate amount of time and resources - especially of field staff - which does little or nothing to strengthen a self-sustainable capability to promote development. Consequently training efforts are concentrated on project appraisal techniques and project management at the expense of the training needs of public officials implementing normal development programmes in the agricultural sector. However, there is a growing realization that agricultural development and administrative development must go hand in hand together. Bringing about improvements in the administrative system cannot be relegated to the side lines without causing harm to the agricultural development process itself.¹

A growing complexity in the organizational arrangements, with a growth in the number of ministries, departments and agencies, some with different degrees of autonomy, is increasing the difficulties of administering agricultural services so that they can be effectively

1. H.M. Mathur "Training of Senior Administrators of Agricultural Development" Report of FAO's Expert Consultation on Improving the Organization and Administration of Agricultural Development, Manila, Philippines, September 1979. Appendix IV, p.32.

harmonized to arrive at the right time, at the right place and in proportion appropriate to need. An added dimension of the problem is the growing need to focus more and more effort on reaching the small farmers who form the broad mass of producers in most African countries south of the Sahara. How much more difficult it is to organize programmes which reach hundreds of thousands of small farmers than to organize services targetted at reaching a relatively few large ones. Given the factors of enormous cost involved, the generally limited resources of trained manpower, the shortcomings of individual components and the difficulties of organizing services which are broadly accessible to small farmers, what role can training play in improving public administration performance in the agricultural sector? This paper examines the case for training agricultural development administrators, seeks to identify some important elements of a training strategy in line with new policy dimensions and special inter-agency/multi-functional characteristics of rural and agricultural development, and indicates some operational considerations or implementation of the strategy.

DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

Any training strategy should have clear objectives as to the type of improvements desired in the working of the system, relevant to the functions to be performed. For a poverty focussed agricultural and rural development strategy the ultimate criterion must be the impact of governmental performance on the ground, rather than at other levels or on the "modernization" of governmental working procedures as objectives in themselves. If we keep the impact on the field as the focus of government programmes then the following features of agricultural administration are important and give the functional criteria by which performance can be evaluated, and training needs can be assessed.

Field Level

First, in contrast to the traditional agricultural services (professional services) which provide services and support to existing producers the new strategies often seek at least implicitly if not in an

overt fashion, to alter existing economic, political and social power balance in the rural areas. For example small farmer development programmes may make them independent of money lenders and the organization of the rural poor may affect the traditional groupings. Administering change is different compared to normal administrative or managerial activity.

Secondly, the programme implementers have little direct control, unlike in "farm management", over the actual decisions of a large number of beneficiaries, but have immense potential to guide the decisions of a large number of people and provide support and services to facilitate such decisions. Behavioural change on the part of the beneficiaries is necessary to gain acceptance of new ideas and this requires considerable extra efforts.

Thirdly, the vast social and cultural difference between the government functionaries and the rural poor, creates special problems of reaching them. They are generally "visible" to the naked administrative eye, and not only a high degree of communication abilities but also commitment to and identification with the rural poor is necessary.

Fourthly, there are intense social and political pressures on government functionaries which tend to allocate the resources in favour of the rich who may need them least. This may be due to a conscious or unconscious class binding or as a result of bureaucratic pressures on "performance" being exerted on the field level functionaries from above.

Fifth, many development programmes designed at national levels reach the beneficiaries through successive levels of administration in the forms of standardized "packages" often irrelevant or unsuited to the needs of the rural poor. The presumption of knowledge at the national level and the rigidity of forms of the services provided make it difficult for the field level functionaries to suit the programme to the needs and capacity of the beneficiaries.

Sixthly, each line agency normally is responsible for the delivery of one or two services, whereas the outcome depends upon simultaneous action by other agencies. Extension and credit, credit and marketing, credit and inputs are simple combinations on paper but extremely

difficult to achieve from the point of view of the beneficiaries. A multi-organizational structure poses special obstacles to achieve co-ordination at the field level and cumbersome procedures leave little initiative for action.

District Level

If we shift our attention to a slightly higher level, namely the district or province, the functional requirements of agricultural and rural development administration change and different priorities can emerge. It should however be kept in view that these are additional features and in no way less important than the ones just described.

At this level the first feature is to institutionalize feedback on the performance of field agencies, especially as it affects the intended beneficiaries or areas through the establishment of sustaining local participatory mechanisms. The underlying assumption that a channel of communication must exist to ensure that national policies and plans are communicated to field personnel and to the farmers, has to be complemented by a feedback channel if development programmes are to match development needs. Enabling the beneficiaries to participate in planning and implementation of development activities has a valuable functional contribution of institutionalizing feedback. This is particularly relevant for agricultural and rural development programmes which involve the administrative allocation of scarce resources.

Secondly, the task of enabling local diagnosis of the constraints and problems of the beneficiaries, so that broad national policies can be translated into specific operational programmes, procedures and systems is an important feature of rural development administration at this level. Diagnostic skills to understand the constraints of small farmers are necessary to have a thorough understanding of the type of technological innovations and resources which would be needed in given situations.

Thirdly, many functionaries at this level will be having the task of communicating government programmes to the beneficiaries, their organizations and other agencies such as the local-government

organisations. In many cases the cutting edge of government delivery may be the local organizations, which may need special support and guidance for poverty oriented rural development and to bring about sufficient responsiveness to the needs of the rural poor.

Fourthly, the establishment of co-operative and complementary relationships between different agencies is a task at this level which requires special skills. Structural mechanisms at this level such as the area administrator or committees and council may or may not be under sufficient pressure to ensure the co-ordinated delivery of services to the beneficiaries of the programmes. Special efforts may therefore be needed to mediate between higher and the implementation levels, across different agencies.

NEED FOR A TRAINING STRATEGY

These special characteristics or features of agricultural and rural development define the exact nature of administrative functions to be performed in the system at different levels. It seems that standard management training or techniques would not be adequate to enable the better performance of these functions, the skills for which are mostly learnt on the job or come out of close association and commitment to rural development. Training in this context is essentially "in-service" in nature. Also many of the problems encountered in the performance of these functions could be overcome through administrative (and possibly organizational) changes and improvement of government-wide administrative support systems. The first element of the overall strategy should be therefore to carry out the necessary reforms to the extent possible. Changes in job definitions at different levels, realistic performance criteria which recognize special efforts made to reach the rural poor, career incentives for functionaries in agricultural and rural development programmes, organizational responsibilities and delegation of functions are some of the important areas where improvements could create better conditions for the necessary attitudinal changes.

The second element of the overall strategy is a priority attention given to the need for training government functionaries at different levels to improve performance. Unless there is commitment and continued attention to improve administrative performance in the national programmes no overall strategy could be evolved.

The training efforts to be planned should be addressed to government functionaries at different levels and for the sake of clarity six different levels can be visualised. These are:

- (i) Field level functionaries in direct contact with the people;
- (ii) Supervisory staff at the field level;
- (iii) Supervisory and technical staff at the district level;
- (iv) Provincial/Regional level officials;
- (v) Heads of Departments/Directorates;
- (vi) Policy Making Staff such as generalist administrators and permanent secretaries.

The discussion is relevant to the ministries/agencies implementing agricultural and rural development programmes, and could include a range covering supplies and services such as extension, credit, fertilizers, irrigation, other inputs and marketing.

Taking the foregoing into account, the following points may help in pin-pointing in practical terms the elements of a practical strategy on training, viz.,

1. The need to distinguish between the learning by doing, a process of improving the communication process and the acquiring of specific skills in administrative and management techniques. The initial thrust of the training strategy advocated in this paper should be the achievement of a greater awareness by all types of administrator and manager (at senior, middle and lower levels at headquarters, provincial/district and area levels) of the agricultural development programme. Thus, greater understanding of the various objectives, means of achievement, results being

achieved, can lead to a greater commitment to common objectives. By bringing together the administrators and managers to examine the objectives and practices of their Ministry and those of other ministries and agencies involved in agricultural development, objectives may be redefined, roles and functions better understood and - in the longer term - improved organizational, administrative and management practices achieved.

2. Recognize that training must be a continuous programme. Development is a dynamic process. Policies and practices should change to meet the needs of development. There is therefore a continuing need for training and a continuous process of overhaul and evaluation by the many involved in the development programmes.
3. Recognize that a training programme must be organized and carried out within a specific country, since it is concerned with national objectives, with specific (to be identified) problems, and with the experience and capabilities of national staff.

ASSESSMENT OF TRAINING NEEDS - PUTTING THE TRAINING INTO PRACTICE

Variations in functions performed at different levels and in contributions from different kinds of organization determine variations in training needs. In organizing a training programme for agricultural development administrators an essential starting point seems to be the need for a specific assessment of training needs in terms of knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary for performance of the functions at different levels. There cannot and should not be any standardized training as different combinations of skills are called for in the performance of functions at different levels. As far as technical training is concerned its significance cannot be over-emphasized for the functionaries at the field and regional levels and there are well established methods of identifying such needs and a general capacity to provide such training.

In organizational and administrative aspects, the lack of field experience by trainers in general, and the standardized approaches of management training institutes biased generally in favour of top-down

techniques require an internal evaluation of the problems before the training needs can be assessed. There are several methods available to accomplish this such as expert interviews of the functionaries by qualified staff at different levels in the organization which can give a profile of the administrative and managerial tasks involved in implementing rural and agricultural development programmes. There is much to be said in favour of such internal assessments in view of the increasing evidence of the irrelevance of standardized training programmes for the performance of rural development functions.

A survey of rural development project managers in Africa revealed that the training requirement for rural project managers included several items that had not been considered in the original curriculum.² Fewer than one-third of the problems and issues faced most frequently by project managers in their current jobs were never mentioned in the original curriculum. Another survey³ of 72 field level functionaries from 10 different countries, involved in the implementation of rural development programmes (as opposed to project managers whose roles could have been more sharply designed) found that more than 49% of the problems faced by the field were "generic" in nature and related to aspects such as role of voluntary agencies, reactions of the beneficiaries, political interference, goal perception, satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the assignment and logistics. About 37% of the problems encountered related to matters of co-ordination with functions by other agencies and 14% related to matters within the control of the respective agencies. The FAO's own evaluation of its rich experiences in extension training have repeatedly emphasized on the need to look into the general conditions affecting field performance to get the full impact of specialized programmes of training.

-
2. John D. Montgomery, "The Great Training Robbery" - A Discussion of Teaching Methodologies. Commonwealth Secretariat, "Training for Agricultural Project Management" (Papers from a Commonwealth Workshop in Colombo 1979) London, May 1980. P.107-114.
 3. John D. Montgomery, "Integrating Rural Development; Views from the Field". Lincoln Institute Monograph. P.81-3. Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, Cambridge, USA.

Therefore, instead of following standard approaches of training, the needs and requirements of training for rural and agricultural development programmes will have to be assessed carefully keeping in view the level of the functionaries involved, the specific programmes and their locations. It is probable that technical and economic skills of management generally may assume proportionately less importance as "social skills" become more relevant for the successful performance of the functions.

The priority that should be given to an overall strategy for training by the top management is very important as mentioned earlier for the strategy should not become quickly "routinized" in the systems. This also requires continuous internal assessment of the objectives, resources and the problems at the different levels in the organizations. In bureaucratic organizations there are acute problems of communication due to the hierarchical levels involved and a general control of functions at higher levels. The whole training strategy should therefore be visualized as an essential part of improving the communication process, concerned not only with what is to be done at each level of the system, but how it can be done to reach the benefits of a given programme to the rural farmers and how the functionaries could be involved in the process of helping the disadvantaged to improve their income levels.

There are many ways in which the process of communications could be improved. The most useful and tested one is that of face-to-face discussions between the functionaries across the hierarchy in which a cross section of officials from all the six different levels can participate. Usually staff meetings take place in an atmosphere of hierarchical control and the flow of information is unidirectional from above, confined to standardized reporting procedures. On the other hand, special job definition sessions, involving at least 3 or 4 different levels in the hierarchy and conducted in a free atmosphere could, for example, help in clearing the lack of priorities often noticed in the system as a whole. Vagueness and often conflicting goals at different levels often leads to emphasis and wrong priorities due to informal pressures both from within and outside the system. Job definition

sessions can help in setting realistic goals in consultation with the functionaries assigned responsibilities for implementation and keeping in view the resources available at each level.

Similar sessions can be considered in many other areas some of the more important ones being, joint-problem solving and impact measurement sessions with the intended beneficiaries, internal problem sessions on working conditions, co-ordination sessions with involvement from other agencies and client orientation sessions for the functionaries at different levels.

External training through the use of formal training institutions or established programmes necessarily has to follow internal assessment of the problems and opportunities so as to obtain a more realistic profile of the training needs and identification of the appropriate training methodologies.

ESTABLISHMENT AND ORGANIZATION OF A NATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAMME

The Senior Executive/Administrator of any government organisation concerned with agricultural development has a direct responsibility to assure that his subordinate managers are adequately instructed to perform the tasks assigned to them. While he may assign responsibility to others to assist him in carrying out training efforts and at appropriate times make a personal contribution to it. It has rightly been observed that without adequate support from management no worthwhile training can ever take place.

Without the involvement of top-level administrators, trainers by themselves will find it extremely difficult to design and conduct genuinely job relevant training programmes. This need to involve the higher level officials in training programmes is also based on two compelling reasons. First, there is tendency widely recognised that managers (heads of departments, parastatal organizations, etc.) do not see the need for their own participation in training sessions, nor do they readily spare their senior staff to attend. This problem is aggravated by a tendency for middle/level managers to be instructed to attend workshops, seminars, particularly where these cadres can be

"spared" from apparently, more important tasks. The second is that since the training programme is aimed at administrators and managers in a variety of ministries, departments and agencies, the authority of top management will be required to secure their collaboration in a joint programme.

When it comes to organizing training programmes, a major issue concerns which organization should have the prime responsibility for initiating and overseeing the planning and implementation of the programme. This paper proposes that Ministries of Agriculture should perform this function. The basis of our proposal is that one ministry exercises (or should exercise) a lead role as the focal point for collaboration between agencies in the planning and implementation of agricultural development programmes. In many countries this role is recognized by the fact that this Ministry provides leadership of an inter-ministerial group on agricultural development programmes. It is thus appropriate that it should also provide leadership in initiating training programmes for agricultural administration and for ensuring their continuity.

There are several reasons for advocating a Ministry of Agriculture. Firstly, the establishment of a Ministry's leadership role offers a practical way of ensuring closer collaboration between ministries/agencies in the operation of their training programme than would be possible if responsibility was given to a training institute established outside the framework of official government ministries. Secondly, since a Ministry of Agriculture has direct responsibility for the framing of policies, planning and execution of programmes and projects for the agricultural sector, any examination and enquiry about its policies and objectives (i.e. the purpose of the training Programme) would be more effective if carried out within the organization directly involved. Thirdly, since it should be the responsibility and prime task of a Ministry of Agriculture (and related agencies) to monitor closely the impact of its programmes and to make changes in its organisation and administration consistent with that objective, then the enquiry and examination functions of the training exercises are most appropriately initiated by a Ministry of Agriculture.

Conversely, no "outside" institution, be this an institute of public administration, an institute of development studies or similar, can effectively carry responsibility for initiation of a training programme. Such an institution has no direct responsibility for bringing about improvements in agricultural services to small farmers, possibly involving changes in organizational structure and administrative system. In this sense the programme is basically an "internal" one. However, it should be clear that in the organization of specific training programmes tailored to meet the public sector's needs, the role played by 'outside' institutions in the design and conduct of training sessions, in developing appropriate methodology, in preparing case study material, etc., will be quite crucial to the success of the Programme.

As indicated earlier, within a Ministry of Agriculture the Programme should be the responsibility of the Senior Executive at the head of the Ministry. A small unit concerned with his/her office and closely related to the planning and programming unit (especially the section dealing with monitoring and evaluation) should be assigned responsibility for continuous internal assessment of training needs, for the initiation of appropriate training programmes, continuity and the monitoring of the impact. It could have a senior level officer in charge. It would be this unit's task to maintain contact with other ministries and agencies on matters concerning training in agricultural development administration and management. It would establish and maintain contact with all appropriate training institutes, staff colleges and university faculties within the country, as appropriate.

The responsibility assigned to this small unit would apply irrespective of the organizational arrangements for technical in-service training in ministries and agencies which may already exist. To bring responsibility for training administrators within technical training units would be inappropriate since these latter units are not concerned with organizational and administrative development.

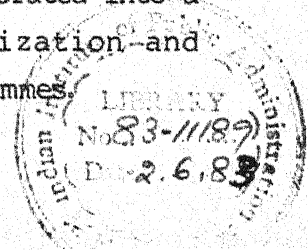
If the Programme is to remain fresh and alive, it should have only a small permanent cadre and a continuing turnover and infusion of new temporary staff. If this can be by the secondment for a year or so from

among the more outstanding officers who have been concerned with the subjects covered by the Programme and have shown aptitude for handling discussions and leading them to practical conclusion, so much the better. Such secondments should be recognized as a normal of the careers of those who can expect to reach high positions in Government Service. By serving in the small unit, assisting in the organization and conduct of particular training workshops the incumbents will gain a deeper understanding of the issues involved and the difficulties faced by others. The numbers involved in this way would be small, since it would be expected that leadership of workshop and seminar sessions should be taken by a variety of senior and middle level officers according to the subject matter field being discussed.

Any workshop or course of sessions, if it is to yield practical results, must be presided over by a senior, experienced person who can follow up on the problems raised or raise them in other workshops and seminars so that there are resultant improvements, and not simply interesting but ultimately futile discussions.

Thus an overall national training strategy has to be evolved as part of an organizational strategy to implement the new policies of redirecting the flow of national programmes in rural development, and that a primary objective of improvement in the system should be the impact it has on the income levels of the intended beneficiaries.

The emphasis on the impact at the field can only be operationalized. If there is commitment at the highest levels for this orientation, and the subsequent importance given to functions being performed at the field levels in the system. Since the essence of training is improving on-the-job performance a realistic assessment of the actual training needs should be made before identifying the types of training programmes and the methods of training for functionaries at different levels in the system. Developing better communications between the different levels in the system is an integral part of an overall national training strategy, and has to be encouraged by committed action at the top level. These, then, are the broad elements which could be incorporated into a national training strategy for improving the organization and administration of agricultural and rural development programmes.



RECORD COPY
REGIONAL PROGRAMME

ON

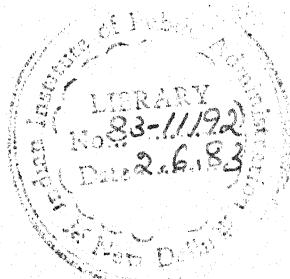
NEW TRENDS IN THE TRAINING OF DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATORS

9 - 28 MAY 1983

NEW DELHI

BACKGROUND PAPERS

VOL. II



UNITED NATIONS
ASIAN & PACIFIC DEVELOPMENT CENTRE
KUALA LUMPUR

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
DEPARTMENT OF PERSONNEL & ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS
NEW DELHI

AND

THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
INDRAPRASTHA ESTATE, RING ROAD,
NEW DELHI-110002

C O N T E N T S

		<u>Page</u>
8. Research and Development Related To Future Trends in the Training of Trainers	Robert E. Norton	120 - 153
9. Training Assistance	O.E.C.D.	154 - 173
10. Cooperation in Administrative Training Among Developing Countries: Experiences with Sharing the Indian Expertise	Hari Mohan Mathur	174 - 188
11. The Great Training Robbery -- A Discussion of Teaching Methodologies	John Montgomery	189 - 198
12. Basic Assumptions, Policies and Criteria for Curricula Design	United Nations	199 - 210
13. The Evaluation of Fellowships and Training Programmes	Jake Jacobs	211 - 231
14. Revive Local Institutions To Ensure Participation	P.R. Dubhashi	232 - 238

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT RELATED TO
FUTURE TRENDS IN THE TRAINING OF TRAINERS

BY

ROBERT E. NORTON

FROM REPORTS OF THE FOURTH MEETING OF THE TECHNICAL COMMITTEE AND
THE SEMINAR ON TRAINER TRAINING, 5-11 OCTOBER 1982, NEW DELHI, INDIA
ASIAN AND PACIFIC SKILL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME, INTERNATIONAL LABOUR
OFFICE, ISLAMABAD, 1983.

Need for training

The need for training, and for more effective training, is growing at an exponential rate. An article in the September 1982 Centergram begins:

Computers. Robotics. CAD/CAM. Microelectronics. Judging by recent advances in these and many other high technology areas, there is little doubt that our machines are capable of almost unimaginable levels of productivity and efficiency. But ... machines alone are not enough. Raising the United States productive capacity demands the development of "smart" workers as well as "smart" machines: a task that will require a massive training and retraining effort on the parts of employers, labor, and education.¹

The need for training is not so much a desire to get ahead; it is more nearly a simple desire to keep up with the rapid changes occurring in nearly all business and industries. Employers are becoming more and more conscious of the positive relationship between employee training and employee productivity. Many institutions - public and private, individually and collectively - are responding in a variety of ways to this expanded call for training. The training task is not easy, however. Training requires large financial commitments and skilled human resources. In these hard economic times, the needed financial resources are scarce, and qualified instructors are frequently hard to find. Industry can often pay salaries that are two or three times higher than what our vocational and technical training institutions can afford to pay. In addition, training materials are often either not available or in need of updating.

Rapid technological change presents a major training problem for developed, as well as developing, countries. Not only initial training but also frequent retraining is required as the average number of career changes made by workers accelerates at an unprecedented rate.

1. 'Preparing for High Technology,' Centergram (a monthly publication of the National Centre for Research in Vocational Education, Ohio State University).17 (September 1982):1.

Traditional methods of training are unsatisfactory, because they provide neither the quantity nor the quality of instructors required. Our training systems have to be more productive and more responsive to rapidly changing training needs.

New teaching strategies and new curriculas are essential if we are to meet this training challenge. We must look at the latest research-and-development findings to ascertain the techniques that really work, as opposed to those that are just different.

We also must look at the new technologies themselves. While the new technologies add to our training problems, ironically they may also be part of the needed solution. For example, can we effectively harness the microcomputer to conduct and manage part of the instructional process? Early indications are that the microcomputer will challenge our traditional ways of thinking about teaching. The computer is only a tool, but if properly used, it may have the capacity to become an extension of the human mind, much as machinery in the industrial revolution became an extension of the human hand.

Let's review for a moment what is involved in preparing effective trainers (instructors), regardless of their occupational speciality. The three key dimensions or components of trainer preparation are usually described as 1) general education, 2) technical education and 3) professional education (pedagogic skills).

While all three components are vital, in trainer training we have been primarily concerned with the technical and professional dimensions. Most of our trainees already possess the necessary general education skills before they are admitted to a training programme or hired as instructors. Hence, the topics addressed in the remainder of this paper focus only on the technical and professional dimensions of trainer training.

First, attention is given to some of the recent research that is having an impact on training in the United States. Second, we will take a brief look at several developments and trends in the training of trainers. And third, we will review some of training-related product development efforts that have occurred.

Research on training

This section of the paper briefly describes four major topics: 1) the technological updating of trainers, 2) the identification of new trainer competencies, 3) the DACUM approach to occupational analysis and 4) the ASTD training and development study.

Technological updating

Much attention has been given by researchers to improving the professional training of instructors. However, until recently, little attention has been given to the technical upgrading of trainers. Traditionally, our vocational and technical instructors have been initially selected because of their technical experience and expertise. It has been logically assumed that you could more easily provide the professional training needed than vice versa. Hence, trainers - from at least the trades areas - have been carefully selected on that basis.

It also has been falsely assumed by many that trainers would - on their own and through contact with advisory committees and employers - keep themselves up to date technically. The problem of keeping instructors technically up to date has increased as the technologies in many occupational areas continue to change and expand rapidly. It has been estimated by some authorities that 30 to 50 per-cent of the trainers in some fields need technical updating experiences.

A research project, initiated in February 1982 by the National Centre, has two major objectives:

1. To identify the dimensions of the problem of technological update of vocational/technical teachers in the United States, specifically a) extent of the problem at secondary and postsecondary levels, b) extent of the problem relative to occupational areas and c) technologies in which the problems is most critical.
2. To identify and describe promising approaches to the technological updating of vocational/technical instructors in the United States and barriers to the approaches, specifically a) approaches by individual vocational technical schools, b) approaches in co-

operation with business and industry and c) approaches by universities and colleges to the technological updating of instructors and technicians.

While it is too early to report any conclusive findings, many techniques for providing technical updating have been identified, several barriers to participation in updating experiences have been revealed, and numerous factors that encourage participation are surfacing. Two reports - one of the findings of each objective - will be available next year. (See Attachment A for a descriptive summary of the technological updated project.)

Concern for the technical competence of its teachers has caused Cornell University in New York State to identify carefully the technical competencies expected of vocational agriculture instructors in each of six specialisations. The technical competency lists are given to the technical departments of the College of Agriculture as a guide to the skills vocational agriculture instructors need. The lists are also used by advisors and prospective teachers in planning their technical experiences and educational programmes.

Competency identification

Research has been conducted at the National Centre to identify the professional competencies required of trainers in three new areas: 1) implementing competency-based education, 2) serving students with special/exceptional needs and 3) helping students to improve their basic skills.

Competency-based education (CEE) is an alternative approach to vocational and technical training that is rapidly gaining acceptance across the United States and in several other countries. Since this approach represents a new challenge for the traditional vocational instructor, preparation for the new training responsibilities is necessary.

The DACUM (Developing A Curriculum) analysis technique was used to identify the competencies needed by vocational teachers to install and conduct CBE programmes. The ten expert practitioners on the DACUM panel

1) all had extensive experience in installing and conducting CBE programmes, 2) represented a wide range of occupational areas, 3) represented secondary, postsecondary and industry training programmes and 4) provided broad geographical representation of the country. A listing of eighty-four competencies, unique to CBE, was generated by this panel.

By law in the United States, vocational educators are obligated to ensure that their programmes are equally accessible, accommodating and fair to all students. Unfortunately, few vocational teachers have been trained to meet the new demands placed upon them. They need to acquire additional teaching skills in order to meet the special training needs of students, who, for example, are enrolled in programmes nontraditional for their sex, are physically impaired, or are members of minority groups or emerging groups such as the aged and ex-offenders. Not only are our vocational teachers unprepared to meet the exceptional needs of students enrolling in their classes, but teacher trainers often lack the expertise needed to prepare teachers to meet this challenge.

Recognizing the intent of recent legislation and the lobbying of special groups, the National Centre staff decided to broaden the definition of the term special needs to include most of the groups with different needs that could be found today in the regular vocational classroom. After much consideration, the following groups were selected: the mentally retarded; the sensory and physically impaired; the gifted and talented; the rural/urban economically disadvantaged; persons with limited English proficiency; members of racial/ethnic minority groups; persons enrolled in programmes nontraditional for their sex; and adults requiring retraining (e.g. displaced homemakers, technologically displaced, ex-offenders.)

The term exceptional needs was consequently used to incorporate the broader range of needs included.

The next step was to identify teacher competencies. Instead of adapting previously established competencies-as was done in the studies identified in the literature-the staff employed the DACUM process to identify competencies from scratch. In this case, it was used eight

times-once for each of the exceptional-needs groups identified. The resulting competency lists were then merged and verified, resulting in a list of 380 competency statements.

It is widely recognized that many young people and adults-including some who are enrolled in vocational and technical programmes-do not possess the basic math and communication skills needed for success in their educational programmes and for successful pursuit of productive and satisfying roles in the American society. Further, many individuals lack the personal skills and self-discipline necessary for success in educational programmes and in the world of work.

Again, the DACUM analysis process was used-this time to identify the specific tasks that vocational teachers need to perform in the process of improving their students' basic skills. The intent is not to prepare the vocational teacher to teach remedial classes. Rather, it is to prepare the teacher to reinforce and improve the students' basic skills as an ongoing part of the vocational instructional programme. A total of eighty-five competency statements resulted from this analysis.

DACUM approach to occupational (job) analysis

The DACUM process is an alternative approach to occupational analysis. It is a modified brainstorming process in which small groups of expert practitioners analyze a joint or occupational area and reach consensus on the skills or competencies needed by the workers. The group works for two days under the leadership of a co-ordinator to develop the analysis.

DACUM has been successfully used to analyze occupations at the professional, technical, skilled and semiskilled levels. DACUM operates on the following three premises: 1) expert workers are better able to describe or define their job than anyone else, 2) any job can be effectively and sufficiently described in terms of the tasks that successful workers in that occupation perform and 3) all tasks have direct implications for the knowledge and attitudes that workers must have in order to perform the tasks correctly.

The DACUM process has been used extensively by the National Centre in its own research projects and by many community colleges and

technical institutes. It has proved to be a very effective method of quickly determining, at relatively low cost, the competencies or skills that must be performed by persons employed in a given job or occupational area. (See Attachment B for more details about the DACUM analysis procedure.)

ASTD training and development study

The American Society for Training and Development (ASTD) claims to represent the largest combined group of training, career development and organisational development professionals in the world. During 1981-83 ASTD is conducting a major competency study in an attempt to define more clearly the training and development field.

The study has identified fifteen role specialisations, which they will use as a basis for identifying task and competency requirements. The fifteen roles are grouped into four areas: 1) training and development planning, 2) training and development implementation, 3) training and development research and 4) training and development support.

For each role ASTD expects to identify or prepare the following: a list of the major outputs and excellence indicators; a list of the competencies required to produce the outputs; rating scales for each competency; and a list of learning resources for building competence in each role.²

ASTD also expects to identify core competencies across roles. Results are scheduled for publication in mid-1983.

Developments and trends in trainer training

This section of the paper briefly addresses six major developments that are occurring in the trainers in the United States and elsewhere. They include 1) widespread adoption and study of performance-based teacher education (PBTE), 2) distance education (outreach) training

2. Patricia A. McLagan, 'The ASTD Training and Development Competency Study: A Model Building Challenge', *Training and Development Journal*, 36 (May 1982): 18-24.

programmes, 3) adoption of competency-based administration training strategies, 4) adoption of competency-based certification standards, 5) changing role of the instructor and 6) establishment of a National Academy for Vocational Education.

Adoption and study of PBTE

As most of you know, PBTE is a relatively new and alternative approach to the professional or pedagogic development of trainers. It is an approach to training in which 1) the programme is based on the pedagogic competencies required of successful instructors, and 2) the instructor not only must obtain certain knowledge but is required to demonstrate ability to perform essential skills in an actual instructional setting. (For more information on the essential elements and desirable characteristics of PBTE and the the research-and-development work done by the National Centre, see Attachment C.)

There is much evidence that PBTE programmes are having a long-term impact on improving the quality and competence of vocational instructors. By providing a flexible and more individualised programme, PBTE has enabled instructors to progress at their own best rate and achieve mastery of the desired competencies. It has also increased the productivity some teacher-education programmes by shortening the time required to achieve certification. Hence, it will probably not surprise anyone to learn that the adoption of PBTE concepts and materials is spreading.

Many public and private postsecondary institutions are adopting the National Centre's PBTE materials for use in their own internal staff development programmes. The National Association of Trade and Technical Schools is sponsoring and conducting its own workshops for preparing trainers to use the National Centre's PBTE materials and PBTE concepts.

Within the last year, the states of Alaska and Arkansas have adopted PBTE as the strongly recommended approach to vocational instructor preparation. An independent study of vocational teacher training in Massachusetts by the Logos Research Institutes gave a strong endorsement to PBTE. After a review of available studies and literature

on adult learning and teacher education, Logos Research Institutes strongly recommended that:

The division of Occupational Education should adopt a performance based curriculum for satisfying the 18-credit-hour teacher training requirement for full approval as a vocational teacher. It is further recommended that curriculum...should be based upon the Ohio State University performance-based teacher education model which has been fully developed, validated, and implemented in many states.³

In addition to Canada, which has been a major adopter of the PBTE approach, several other countries are either using or contemplating the use of the PBTE approach. In a report on an evaluation of performance-based teacher education for TAFE (technical and further education) teachers in Australia, Hobart and Harris conclude that

...the PBTE model has considerable potential for TAFE teacher education in Australia, but that its effectiveness depends upon certain conditions being met with respect to its three components--teacher educators, student teachers, and supporting resources--and to its implementation. The study has indicated that PBTE is demanding of the institution that adopts it and that institutional change is required if such a model of teacher education is to be implemented effectively.⁴

Because of the considerable interest in PBTE shown by Australia a distributorship for the materials has been established at the South Australian College of Advanced Education (formerly the Adelaide College of Arts and Education), Underdale, South Australia.

-
3. Edward H. Lareau and others, *Learning the Teaching Trade: A Study of Vocational Teacher Training in Massachusetts* (Amherst, MA: Logos Research Institutes, 1981), p.10.
 4. R. Barry Hobart and Roger Harris, *Mystery or Mastery: An Evaluation of Performance-Based Teacher Education for TAFE Teachers in Australia* (Adelaide, South Australia: Adelaide College of the Arts and Education, 1982), p.iii.

The Government and several educators in the United Kingdom have also been trying out and evaluating the PBTE concepts and materials for possible adoption within their system of further education. In a comprehensive and well-documented report of the actual and potential use of performance-based vocational teacher education, Tuxworth concludes that: Although competency-based education of any kind and competency/performance-based teacher education in particular should not be seen as an easy remedy for all assumed shortcomings of education and training, the concepts, systems, and materials offer an approach which can help in some aspects. While the actual use of PBTE in the U.K. is very limited at present, it clearly has considerable potential as one operational response to the vast amount of staff development activity which is needed...⁵

Because of the considerable interest in PBTE shown by educators in the United Kingdom, a distributorship for the materials has been established at Stam Press, Ltd., EDUCA House, Cheltenham, England.

Other countries, such as Korea and Saudi Arabia, and several Latin American countries are also studying the concepts and materials for possible adaptation and translation.

Distance education (outreach) training programme

The tremendous distances between trainers and trainees that exist in some countries and in some states in the US have caused considerable experimentation with the use of the modularized PBTE materials and concepts in a distance education, or outreach, mode. Rather than the traditional 'trainee comes to the campus' approach, the training is being 'taken to the trainees,' wherever they are.

Roger Harris of the south Australian College of Advanced Education in Underdale, South Australia, speaks of their Bougainville Papua New

5. Eric N. Tuxworth, Staff Development: A Competency-Based Approach (Huddersfield, England: Huddersfield Polytechnic, in press), p.41.

Guinea PBTE programme, as a major success. This is a staff development programme for industry trainers at Bougainville Copper Limited, which is located 2,500 miles away from the college. He states that

...the Bougainville PBTE programme has been our most noteworthy success and is unique in Australia as 1) a programme adhering to all the principles of PBTE, 2) an approach to staff development of industry trainers by a teacher education department, and 3) a training endeavour that necessarily must occur in an off-campus mode and at a distance (i.e. an outreach programme).⁶

Another PBTE outreach programme worthy of description is the one conducted by the University of Alaska, Juneau, in our 49th state. Alaska is vast in size and has both remote villages and modern cities. Before 1961, virtually all teachers with degrees were trained in the 'lower 48 states' and transplanted to Alaska. Since that time a PBTE outreach programme has been implemented to train teachers in the state. Because the trainees are widely separated geographically, the programme requires extensive, long-distance travel by university personnel. The resource persons and trainees are visited at least once per semester in the remote locations and more often elsewhere.

Selected PBTE courses/modules are a required part of the training programme; however, the entire 100 modules are available as electives. the programme uses twelve master teachers, who work in the field as resource persons under the supervision of the university. Sequin, the PBTE Programme Director, states:

...thus, PBTE - as a proven delivery system for vocational teacher education-has become an integral part of a program for the largest state in the union. Acceptance, by both teachers and school administrators, has been excellent thus far. However, maintaining

6. Roger Harris, 'PBTE Programmes at Adelaide College of the Arts and Education in South Australia (1979-1981),' an abstract prepared for the National Conference on Performance/Competency-Based Professional Development of Vocational Teachers and Administrators, Philadelphia, 1982.

quality and the problems of logistics remain as primary concerns.⁷

Adoption of competency-based administrator training strategies

Several states have given high priority to the professional development of managers of administrators of secondary and postsecondary vocational and technical programmes. The preparation of these leadership personnel cannot be left to chance or be assumed to be automatic upon their appointment. Believing that the concepts of PBTE can also be effectively applied to the training of administrators, several states (Illinois, Ohio, Florida, Pennsylvania, Arkansas, New York, Arizona, North Carolina, Michigan, Kansas) are implementing some type of competency-based administrator education (CBAE) programme.

Of the approaches to implementing CBAE being used, the internship and externship programmes appear to be the most successful. Both of these approaches are realistic and effective because they encourage preservice and in-service administrators to 1) assess their individual needs, 2) plan an individualised programme of professional development, and 3) develop the competencies actually needed by local administrators of secondary and postsecondary programmes.

Adoption of competency-based certification standards

Should competency assessment be part of the 'entry to the teaching profession' preparation and certification process? Twenty-five states have already answered yes to this question. In twelve states, legislation already has been passed requiring competency assessment before certification. In thirteen other states, either the Board of Education or the State Department of Education has mandated some form of competency assessment. Several other states have the matter under discussion or have legislation pending.

7. Armand Sequin, 'PBTE in the 49th State-University of Alaska, Juneau,' an abstract prepared for the National Conference on Performance/Competency-Based Professional Development of Vocational Teachers and Administrators, Philadelphia, 1982.

Much controversy exists about what should be assessed and how the assessment should be conducted. There is, however, general agreement that competency assessment should include measures from the cognitive, affective and psychomotor domains. There is also agreement that assessment must go beyond a paper-and-pencil cognitive test and include assessment of actual classroom performance.

Several states are using a three-person assessment team-consisting of a principal, peer teacher and teacher trainer-to make the on-the-job assessment. A number of states have selected some of the PBTE competencies as at least a partial basis for certifying their vocational instructors. In an effort to recognize and appropriately reward outstanding instructors, Arkansas has established three levels of certification: instructor, senior instructor and master instructor.

The assessment of trainer competence is a complex and demanding task, but the public's right to and demand for accountability, as well as the profession's need for safeguards against the certification of incompetent persons, necessitates the establishment of adequate and fair appraisal systems.

Changing role of the instructor

As one looks at the increased use of modularised instructional materials for preparing vocational students, vocational instructors and vocational administrators, one cannot help but wonder what is happening to the traditional role of the instructor. simply put, it is changing from that of lecturer and large-group discussion leader to that of resource person or learning manager.

The concept of the resource person as an advisor/counsellor, facilitator/helper and assessor/evaluator has been advocated by the National Centre's PBTE staff since the early 1970s. There now appears to be adequate evidence that the role advocated is both realistic and essential to successful competency-or performance-based instructional programmes.

In competency-based education, resource persons (trainers) need less time for planning lessons, lecturing, conducting large-group

discussion and developing and grading paper-pencil tests. Thus, the trainer is free to devote more time to managing the learning process by advising individual students, assessing student progress, leading small-group discussion, facilitating peer interaction and developing supportive media and instructional materials.

There is much evidence confirming that the role of the resource person is essential if modularised materials are to be used successfully. As Tuxworth points out, 'There are risks inherent in the misapplication of PBTE, particularly when modules and systems are taken to be a substitute for human interaction.'⁸ Trainers cannot and should not be left on their own to complete modules and view media. The resource person must arrange for seminars, individual conferences and other forms of peer and trainer-trainee interaction.

An analogy can be drawn to the auto mechanic who fails because he misuses an excellent tool. The trainer who does not perform the required functions of the resource person role when using modularised materials will also fail.

Establishment of the National Academy for Vocational Education

The increased demand for training professionals at all levels in vocational education has given rise to the establishment of a National Academy for Vocational Education as an integral part of the National Centre for Research in Vocational Education. The National Academy is charged by the federal Government with responsibility for addressing the professional development and leadership needs of the many professionals making up the vocational education community.

The National Academy operates both an institute and an in-residence programme. the institute programmes plans, promotes and conducts workshops, seminars and conferences on a regional and nationwide basis fo vocational, technical and other training professionals. Activity

8. Eric N. Tuxworth, 'Staff Development: A Competency-Based Approach,' Research Project No.42, Further Education Curriculum Review and Development Unit (Huddersfield, England: Huddersfield Polytechnic, n.d.), p.iv.

topics are derived from various sources, including needs assessments, national priority issues, research-and-development efforts of the National Centre, advisory groups and specific field requests from State agencies and professional groups. Most of these activities are conducted throughout the United States on a cost-recovery basis, with income received from participant registration. To date, during its successful four and a half years of operation, the National Academy has conducted 260 activities and served 8,500 trainees.

The in-residence programme is an open-entry/open-exit programme, which offers career, vocational, technical and other training professionals an opportunity for a residence experience at the National Centre. This programme is open to both national and international participants, who plan and carry out an individualised professional development plan by using the human and material resources of the National Centre, at the Ohio State University and many other co-operating agencies. To date, approximately 170 persons have participated in this programme, over 40 per cent of whom have been international participants.

While the National Academy's programmes cannot begin to meet the training needs of all vocational and technical personnel in the United States, the National Academy does plan and conduct-with the help of many consultants-most of the regional and national workshops and conferences held concerning vocational education. Hence, the National Academy is providing a vital leadership development function, especially for teacher trainers, State Department of Education personnel and many programme administrators.

Training-Related Product Development

When training vocational- and technical-education instructors, planners, curriculum specialists, supervisors and administrators, it is essential to use the most relevant and effective curriculum materials available. As everyone knows, the development of high-quality curriculum materials takes much time, is costly and requires highly skilled curriculum, media and other production specialists.

Even though the idea of a national curriculum is unthinkable in the United States with our strong local and State control of education, many of the professional-level materials needed for preparing trainers and administrators are being developed at the national level. On the other hand, most curriculum materials for secondary and postsecondary vocational students are developed at either the State or local level. An obvious advantage of the locally developed curriculum is that it can be customised to meet the needs of local business and industry and the trainees to be involved.

Let's look for a moment at some of the more significant curriculum development efforts designed to help meet the training needs of vocational instructors, administrators and other trainees. As one might expect, since the National Centre's PBTE efforts met with success, additional modularised performance-based teacher education materials have been developed and will soon be published. A multi-State consortium effort has also been supporting the development of competency-based modules designed specifically for the preparation of vocational administrators. Finally, we will briefly describe the new Vocational Education Curriculum Materials (VECM) data base, which has been established through the National Centre's clearinghouse.

PBTE curriculum development

Two major efforts have been under way in the PBTE arena. First, twenty-seven new modules are being developed to address the competencies identified in the research reported earlier in this paper. The same basic process of development, review and field testing that was used in preparing the first 100 modules is being used again.

Six modules make up the new K-category on implementing competency-based education, thirteen modules are included in the new L-category on serving students with special/exceptional needs, and six titles make up the new M-category on helping students improve their basic skills. One module on learning styles and another on combatting problems of student chemical use are being added to Categories C and E, respectively. (For a listing of the 127 titles expected to be available by March 1983, see Attachment E.)

The other major PBTE development activity has been the revision and updating of the original 100 PBTE modules. While carefully retaining the format and basic configuration of the original module series, the module illustrations have been improved, and the content and outside references have been updated in each module. In making these revisions, recognition of the new competencies and cross-referencing to the new titles, where appropriate, have also been accomplished. The revised second editions of the modules are already being phased into the distribution channels as they come off the production line.

Competency-based administrator modules

Since the fall of 1978 a group of ten states and the National Centre have been co-operatively developing and field testing a series of twenty-nine competency-based modules designed specifically for the preparation of vocational-education administrators (managers, principals, directors) at the secondary and postsecondary levels. Based on 166 competencies identified and nationally verified as important in previous US Office of Education-sponsored research,⁹ of these materials are gaining wide acceptance in many states.

The materials use a format similar to the PBTE materials and have gone through a rigorous development process of conceptualisation, field review, field test and revision for publication. Each module covers a single broad competency or skill area needed by local administrators to carry out their responsibilities effectively. Through a variety of learning activities, learners obtain background information on the skill covered, apply that information in practice or simulated situations, and eventually demonstrate the competency in an actual administrative situation.

The modules can be used in preservice or in service training workshops, graduate courses, intern or extern leadership-development programmes, and in-house staff-development programmes. While the

9. Robert E. Norton, Kristy L. Ross, Gonzalo Garcia, and Barry Hobart, *The Identification and National Verification of Competencies Important to Secondary and Postsecondary Administrators of Vocational Education* (Columbus, Ohio: the Centre for Vocational Education, Ohio State University, 1977).

modules are designed for individual use, permit self-pacing and require few outside resources, they are not totally self-instructional. They should be used under the guidance of a qualified resource person, who can advise trainees, facilitate the various learning activities and evaluate trainees' progress.

At this time, sixteen titles are available from our National Centre. By December 1982 all twenty-nine modules and additional supportive materials will be available from the American Association for Vocational Instructional Materials in Athens, Georgia. (For a list of the titles in this leadership and training series, see Attachment E.)

Vocational Education Curriculum Materials (VECM)

As mentioned earlier, curriculum materials for student use-with the exception of commercially published textbooks- are almost always developed at the level of the State or local agency. In an attempt to promote the sharing of materials and avoid unnecessary duplication of effort, the National Centre is establishing the Vocational Education Curriculum Materials (VECM) data base. It will be a comprehensive, centralised and computerised data base of information on curriculum materials. The data base will contain information on both print and nonprint products. Over 1,500 items will be in the data base by the end of 1982.

Only current vocational and technical curriculum materials that have an availability source are entered into the data base. Each entry includes the following information: title, date, sponsoring agency, developer, subject-matter classification (using 'A Classification of Instructional Programmes,' the system developed by the National Centre for Education Statistics), educational level, intended user, student target population, description of the material, copyright restrictions and availability source. On-line searches, printed reports and microfiche can be generated from the VECM data base.

The data base is a private file for use by the National Centre, regional curriculum coordination centres, and State liaison representatives. When the size of the data base reaches 4,000 entries, however, steps will be taken to make it a public file.

Summary

A summary of the many significant events that are having an impact on how we will be training trainers in the future is impossible. The one thing that is certain is that changes are needed in all countries if we are to keep pace with the expanding need for high-quality training. We must look to research-and-development activities for at least part of the solutions needed. And we must not be afraid to try new approaches, new materials, and new institutional and organisational structures, if we are to meet the challenge.

In this paper, we have 1) reviewed some of the recent research that is affecting training in the United States and elsewhere, 2) looked at some of the developments and trends affecting the training of trainers, and 3) reviewed some of the curriculum development and exchange efforts that have occurred. While none of these are panaceas for all the training problems we face, each offers some potential for improving the situation.

The goal of increasing the human potential demands that we constantly seek to provide the most relevant training we can devise. With that goal in mind, we are committed to conducting continuing research and development aimed at improving the training process. We are also eager to learn of the work being done in your countries that will contribute to this same goal.

PROJECT SUMMARY

Project Title: Technological Update of Teachers

Project Director: James B. Hamilton

Problem statement

Keeping vocational and technical instructors abreast of the technology of their own occupational fields is becoming increasingly more important yet difficult. Technologies change and expand rapidly; new technology is applied within occupations; the turnover rate among teachers has been reduced, resulting in longer position tenure. All these factors combine to cause increasing disparity between teachers' technical skills and knowledge and current practices in their fields of instruction. Furthermore, many qualified teachers, especially at the postsecondary level, are being siphoned off into industry; vocational education must compete with industry due to a generalised shortage of qualified personnel in many technical areas.

Objectives

1. To identify the dimensions of the problem of technological update of vocational/technical teachers in the United States, specifically a) the extent of the problem at secondary and postsecondary levels, b) the extent of the problem relative to occupational areas and c) the technologies in which the problem is most critical.
2. To identify and describe promising approaches to technological update of vocational/technical instructors in the United States and barriers to those approaches, specifically a) approaches by individual vocational/technical schools, b) approaches in co-operation with business and industry and c) approaches by universities and colleges to technological update of instructors and technicians.

Procedures

A literature search will be conducted to assist in identifying the parameters of the problem. Knowledgeable consultants in nine states

will be asked to prepare papers defining the problem as it occurs at the secondary level in each of their own states; consultants in nine additional states will be asked to prepare similar papers concerning the postsecondary level. Topical outlines will be developed by National Centre staff for use by consultants in preparing their papers. National Centre staff will then summarise and analyse the information and report the findings in a report of the status of technological update.

Approximately 500 secondary and postsecondary institutions will be asked to provide materials describing their approaches to the problem. The approaches described will be classified, and promising approaches will be selected. A general description for each classification of promising approach will be written, as well as a description of a specific programme exemplifying the approach. These findings will be incorporated into a product presenting these general and specific programme approaches to technological update.

Deliverables

'Technological Update of Vocational/Technical Teachers: A Status Report' and 'Approaches to Technological Update of Vocational/Technical Teachers.'

THE DACUM JOB-ANALYSIS PROCEDURE

DACUM is a relatively new and innovative approach to occupational (job) analysis. It has proved to be a very effective method of quickly determining, at relatively low cost, the competencies or tasks that must be performed by persons employed in a given job or occupational area.

The profile chart that results from the DACUM analysis is a detailed and graphic portrayal of the skills or competencies involved in the occupation being studied. The DACUM analysis can be used as a basis for 1) curriculum development, 2) student advisement, 3) training-needs assessments, 4) recording of student competency achievement and 5) competency test development.

DACUM has been successfully used to analyse occupations at the professional, technical, skilled and semiskilled levels. DACUM operates on the following three premises: 1) expert workers are better able to describe or define their job than anyone else, 2) any job can be effectively and sufficiently described in terms of the tasks that successful workers in that occupation perform and 3) all tasks have direct implications for the knowledge and attitudes that workers must have in order to perform the tasks correctly.

A carefully chosen group of about eight to twelve experts from the occupational area form the DACUM committee. Committee members are recruited directly from business, industry or the professions. The committee works under the guidance of a co-ordinator for two days to develop the DACUM chart. Modified small-group brainstorming techniques are used to obtain the collective expertise and consensus of the committee.

The DACUM committee is carefully guided through each of the following steps by the co-ordinator: 1) orientation; 2) review of job or occupational area description; 3) identification of general areas of job responsibility; 4) identification of specific tasks performed in each of the general areas of responsibility; 5) review and refinement of task

statements; 5) sequencing of task statements and 7) other options, as desired.

Because of their current occupational expertise, committee participants do not need to make any advance preparations. Participants on past DACUM committees have, without exception, found the activity to be a professionally stimulating and rewarding experience.

SOURCE: Adapted from R. E. Adams, DACUM: An Approach to Curriculum, Learning, and Evaluation in Occupational Training, a Nova Scotia Newstart Report (Ottawa, Canada: Department of Regional Economic Expansion, 1975).

PERFORMANCE-BASED TEACHER EDUCATION (PBTE)

What is PBTE?

- * A new approach for training instructors and teachers
- * Emphasises the actual performance of essential teaching skills
- * Based on five essential elements and eight desirable characteristics (see section on PBTE Essential Elements for details)

What work has been done?

- * Research-384 important teaching skills identified
- * Development
 - Materials were co-operatively developed, field tested and revised
 - 100 modules were clustered into ten major categories
 - User's guides and orientation media/materials were developed
 - Materials proved effective through testing
 - Materials refined and published (AAVIM)
- * Dissemination
 - Over 600 implementation workshops conducted
 - National Academy and publisher continue to offer and sponsor workshops throughout the country
 - Technical assistance provided to users on request
 - Material distributorships in United Kingdom and Australia

What has happened?

* Major types of users

Colleges and universities, teachers and instructors

Postsecondary institutions, instructors

Secondary schools, teachers

Business and industry, trainers

* Extent of use

Over 3,000 customers

Over 1,200 educational agencies and over 400 businesses

Used in all 50 states and all Canadian provinces

Ordered by 30 other countries

* Effects of use

Improved quality of instructors and teachers

More effective teacher-education programmes

More cost-effective training

Increased use of competency-based instruction by teachers

What is planned for the future?

* Translation of some modules into Spanish and possibly other languages

* Development of additional modules for administrators and supervisors

* Adaptation of some modules for business and industry use

PBTE essential elements

Five essential elements serve to establish the operational framework for any PBTE (or PBIT) programme. These elements are:

- * Competencies to be achieved are carefully identified, verified and made public in advance
- * Criteria to be used in assessing achievement and the conditions under which achievement will be assessed are explicitly stated and made public in advance.
- * Assessment of competency takes the trainee's knowledge and attitudes into account but depends upon actual performance as the primary source of evidence.
- * The instructional programme provides for the individual development and evaluation of each of the competencies specified.
- * Trainees progress through the instructional programme at their own rate by demonstrating the attainment of specified competencies.

Besides these essential elements, one commonly finds several others that might best be labelled "desirable characteristics" associated with most PBTE programmes. The desirable characteristics may include any or all of the following elements: instruction is individualised to the maximum extent possible; frequent feedback is provided to the learner; programme provides for open-entry/open-exit; modules or other individual learning packages are used; instruction is based on realistic work situations; multimode required and optional learning activities are used; criterion-referenced evaluation is used; and programme evaluation and revision are continuous.

Prepared by Robert E Norton Senior Research and Development Specialist,
the National Centre for Research in Vocational Education, Ohio State
University, Columbus, Ohio.

AN OUTREACH PROGRAMME OF PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT
FOR INDUSTRY TRAINERS USING THE PBTE/CBSD MODEL

Roger Harris

Advanced Study Centre Fellow

The National Centre for Research in Vocational Education

1. Introduction

This case study involves a PBTE/CBSD programme conducted by Adelaide College of the Arts and Education (ACAE) in South Australia for industry trainers employed by Bougainville Copper Limited (BCL) in Papua New Guinea; that is, a staff-development exercise between two institutions approximately 2,500 miles apart.

2. Background and programme description

Began in February 1979 with 22 expatriate trainers in BCL's training centre. Most of the trainers had had no previous instructional training. Programme is now in its third year. Under contract, BCL funds one extra ACAE faculty, five two-week visits a year and some clerical assistance. Three trainers with some prior instructional training were used as on-site resource persons, and in second year, two outstanding students from initial year also acted in this capacity. There are three levels of training in a step ladder approach.

3. Programme analysis in terms of PBTE/CBSD principles

a. Essential characteristics

- * Competencies are carefully identified, specifically stated and made public. NCRVE modules (mainly A,B,C,D categories) used as delivery system clearly marked on individual Competency Profile Charts.
- * Criteria for assessment are explicit and made public. TPAFs in modules used

- * Programme is designed to develop and evaluate each trainer's achievement of the competencies
 - * Assessment uses performances as major source of evidence. After practice with peers and on-site clearance by resource persons, trainers 'test out' with actual class-either visited by faculty resource person, or send videotape to the Adelaide College of the Arts and Education, High standards set right from the beginning
 - * Rate of progress is determined by demonstrated competency.
- b. Desirable characteristics
- * Learning materials and methods, rate of progress and module sequencing are all individualized
 - * Trainer's professional development is continually guided by feedback
 - * Focus is on exit, not entrance, requirements
 - * Programme of competencies is modularised, Modules almost self-contained, an important factor in the case of this remote site
 - * Total programme is field-centred
 - * Trainers have a part in designing their instructional system-some electives, choice of learning routes, sequencing
 - * Programme is in-service, underlining the philosophy that professional role development is a continuing process
 - * Role integration is gradually reinforced-a more holistic concept of training is fostered after mastery of the basic competencies and a more realistic training presentation accomplished
 - * Programme is open and regenerative. Open entry-open exit. Evaluation undertaken (e.g. see Hobert and Harris, ERIC ED 198311).

4. Main limitations

- a. No formal job analysis undertaken specifically of BCL training role
- b. Lack of relevant supplementary resources on the remote island
- c. Tyranny of distance plagues the movement of materials, assignments and feedback between sites
- d. Programme depends heavily on continued funding from BCL.

5. Conclusions

This programme is an example of

- a. Successful implementation of PBTE/CBSD principles and practices
- b. A worthwhile approach to staff development of industry trainers (by a department of teacher education)
- c. The applicability of the PBTE materials, developed by the National Centre for Research in Vocational Education and published by AAVIM, to settings which are industrial and non-American in cultural orientation
- d. An educational/training endeavour which necessarily must occur in an off-campus mode and at a distance (i.e. an outreach programme).

Address presented at the National Conference on PBTE, CBSD and CBAE, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on 13-15 October 1981.

TITLES OF THE NATIONAL CENTRE'S PERFORMANCE
BASED TEACHER EDUCATION MODULES

Category A: Programme Planning, Development and Evaluation

- A-1 Prepare for a Community Survey
- A-2 Conduct a Community Survey
- A-3 Report the Findings of a Community Survey
- A-4 Organise on Occupational Advisory Committee
- A-5 Maintain an Occupational Advisory Committee
- A-6 Develop Programme Goals and Objectives
- A-7 Conduct on Occupational Analysis
- A-8 Develop a Course of Study
- A-9 Develop Long-Range Programme Plans
- A-10 Conduct a Student Follow-Up Study
- A-11 Evaluate Your Vocational Programme

Category B: Instructional Planning

- B-1 Determine Needs and Interests of Students
- B-2 Develop Student Performance Objectives
- B-3 Develop a Unit of Instruction
- B-4 Develop a Lesson Plan
- B-5 Select Student Instructional Materials
- B-6 Prepare Teacher-Made Instructional Materials

Category C: Instructional Execution

- C-1 Direct Field Trips
- C-2 Conduct Group Discussions, Panel Discussions and Symposiums
- C-3 Employ Brainstorming, Buzz Group and Question-Box Techniques
- C-4 Direct Students in Instructing Other Students
- C-5 Employ Simulation Techniques
- C-6 Guide Student Study
- C-7 Direct Student Laboratory Experience
- C-8 Direct Students in Applying Problem-Solving Techniques
- C-9 Employ the Project Method

- C-10 Introduce a Lesson
- C-11 Summarise a Lesson
- C-12 Employ Oral Questioning Techniques
- C-13 Employ Reinforcement Techniques
- C-14 Provide Instruction for Slower and More Capable Learners
- C-15 Present an Illustrated Talk
- C-16 Demonstrate a Manipulative Skill
- C-17 Demonstrate a Concept or Principle
- C-18 Individualise Instruction
- C-19 Employ the Team Teaching Approach
- C-20 Use Subject Matter Experts to Present Information
- C-21 Prepare Bulletin Boards and Exhibits
- C-22 Present Information with Models, Real Objects and Flannel Boards
- C-23 Present Information with Overhead and Opaque Materials
- C-24 Present Information with Film Strips and Slides
- C-25 Present Information with Films
- C-26 Present Information with Audio Recordings
- C-27 Present Information with Televised and Videotaped Materials
- C-28 Employ Programmed Instruction
- C-29 Present Information with the Chalkboard and Flip Chart
- C-30 Provide for Student's Learning Styles

Category D: Instructional Evaluation

- D-1 Establish Student Performance Criteria
- D-2 Assess Student Performance: Knowledge
- D-3 Assess Student Performance: Attitudes
- D-4 Assess Student Performance: Skills
- D-5 Determine Student Grades
- D-6 Evaluate Your Instructional Effectiveness

Category E: Instructional Management

- E-1 Project Instructional Resource
- E-2 Manage Your Budgeting and Reporting Responsibilities
- E-3 Arrange for Improvement of Your Vocational Facilities
- E-4 Maintain a Filing System

- E-5 Provide for Student Safety
- E-6 Provide for the First-Aid Needs of Students
- E-7 Assist Student in Developing Self Discipline
- E-8 Organise the Vocational Laboratory
- E-9 Manage the Vocational Laboratory
- E-10 Combat Problems of Student Chemical Use

Category F: Guidance

- F-1 Gather Student Data
- F-2 Gather Student Data Through Personal Contacts
- F-3 Use Conferences to Help Meet Student Needs
- F-4 Provide Information on Educational and Career Opportunities
- F-5 Assist Students in Applying for Employment or Further Education

Category G: School-Community Relations

- G-1 Develop a School-Community Relations Plan for Your Vocational Programme
- G-2 Give Presentations to Promote Your Vocational Programme
- G-3 Develop Brochures to Promote Your Vocational Programme
- G-4 Prepare Displays to Promote Your Vocational Programme
- G-5 Prepare News Release and Articles Concerning Your Vocational Programme
- G-6 Arrange for Television and Radio Presentations Concerning Your Vocational Programme
- G-7 Conduct an Open House
- G-8 Work with Members of the Community
- G-9 Work with State and Local Educators
- G-10 Obtain Feedback about Your Vocational Programme

Category H: Vocational Student Organisation

- H-1 Develop a Personal Philosophy Concerning Vocational Student Organisations
- H-2 Establish a Vocational Student Organisation
- H-3 Prepare Vocational Student Organisation Members for Leadership Roles

- H-4 Assist Vocational Student Organisation Members in Developing and Financing a Yearly Programme of Activities
- H-5 Supervise Activities of the Vocational Student Organisation
- H-6 Guide Participation in Vocational Student Organisation Contests

Category I: Professional Role and Development

- I-1 Keep Up to Date Professionally
- I-2 Serve Your Teaching Profession
- I-3 Develop an Active Personal Philosophy of Education
- I-4 Serve the School and Community
- I-5 Obtain Suitable Teaching Position
- I-6 Provide Laboratory Experiences for Prospective Teachers
- I-7 Plan the Student Teaching Experience
- I-8 Supervise Student Teachers

Category J: Co-ordination of Co-operative Education

- J-1 Establish Guidelines for Your Co-operative Vocational Programme
- J-2 Manage the Attendance, Transfers and Terminations of Co-up Students
- J-3 Enrol Students in Your Co-up Programme
- J-4 Secure Training Stations for Your Co-up Programme
- J-5 Place Co-up Students on the Job
- J-6 Develop the Training Ability of On-the-Job Instructors
- J-7 Co-ordinate On-the-Job Instruction
- J-8 Evaluate Co-up Student's On-the-Job Performance
- J-9 Prepare for Student's Related Instruction
- J-10 Supervise an Employer-Employee Appreciation Event

Category K: Implementing Competency-Based Education (CBE)

- K-1 Prepare Yourself for CBE
- K-2 Organise the Content for a CBE Programme
- K-3 Organise Your Class and Lab to Install CBE
- K-4 Provide Instructional Materials for CBE
- K-5 Manage the Daily Routines of Your CBE Programme
- K-6 Guide Your Students Through the CBE Programme

Category L: Serving Students with Special/Exceptional Needs

- L-1 Prepare Yourself to Serve Exceptional Students
- L-2 Identify and Diagnose Exceptional Students
- L-3 Plan Instruction for Exceptional Students
- L-4 Provide Appropriate Instructional Materials for Exceptional Students
- L-5 Modify the Learning Environment for Exceptional Students
- L-6 Promote Peer Acceptance of Exceptional Students
- L-7 Use Instructional Techniques to Meet the Needs of Exceptional Students
- L-8 Improve Your Communication Skills
- L-9 Assess the Progress of Exceptional Students
- L-10 Counsel Exceptional Students with Personal-Social Problems
- L-11 Assist Exceptional Students in Developing Career Planning Skills
- L-12 Prepare Exceptional Students for Employability
- L-13 Promote Your Vocational Programme with Exceptional Students

Category M: Assisting Students in Improving Their Basic Skills

- M-1 Assist Students in Achieving Basic Reading Skills
- M-2 Assist Students in Developing Technical Reading Skills
- M-3 Assist Students in Improving Their Writing Skills
- M-4 Assist Students in Improving Their Oral Communication Skills
- M-5 Assist Students in Improving Their Math Skills
- M-6 Assist Students in Improving Their Survival Skills

Related Publications

Student Guide to Using Performance-Based Teacher Education Materials

Resource Person Guide to Using Performance-Based Teacher Education Material

Guide to the Implementation of Performance-Based Teacher Education
Performance-Based Teacher Education: The State of the Art, General Education and Vocational Education.

TRAINING ASSISTANCE

FROM DEVELOPMENT CO-OPERATION BY RUTHERFORD M. POATS, CHAIRMAN OF
THE DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE COMMITTEE, NOVEMBER 1982, ORGANISATION
FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT.

TRAINING ASSISTANCE

Training is long-term investment in social and economic development, adding to the the skills and capacity of developing countries. As such it has traditionally formed an important part of the aid activities of DAC Members and has undoubtedly contributed to the emrgence of a crop of capable and brilliant Third World talents in every discipline over the last two or three decades. The picture is a mixed one, however, and the insufficiency of trained personnel at middle level and basic working level is often found to be among major constraints to development in the poorer countries, as demonstrated by the World Bank's report on Sub-Sharan Africa¹ which focusses on the inadequacy of managerial skills. There is room therefore for evaluation and reconsideration of priorities and appropriate techniques. A number of donor agencies, including Belgium, the European Development Fund, the United Kingdom and the World Bank have in fact recently reviewed their training assistance so as to adjust to changing needs. Given that foreign assistance will be required by poorer countries over several decades, improvements undertaken now can have far-reaching effects.

In terms of knowledge and understanding, accurate diagnosis can help to break through the inertia of well-established routine, although operationally more than diagnosis is needed to bring about change. Any suggestions for improvement must be assessed to find those offering the best return as well as adequately respecting the recipient countries' cultural identity and their capacity to carry on a process when external help is no longer available. For example, faced with the paucity of means devoted to basic training on scale involving large numbers of people (traditionally, training assistance tends to concentrate on the higher levels), it might be tempting to institute donor-run activities on a commensurate scale and on a once-for-all basis. Consideration for both donor and recipient resources, on the other hand, would imply seeking ways in which local institutions and services can be

1. Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa. An Agenda for Action. World Bank, 1981.

strengthened to do the job, finding which donor inputs are really strategic, and how the process can best serve the recipient country's interests, directly and indirectly. Thus, involving national institutions where a given number of middle-level technicians can be trained locally, may take longer than for the donor to be fully responsible for running the maintenance project, giving orders through a heirarchical system, or sending some technicians to the donor country for training, but the result will be more valid over time because something has been helped to grow which stands a good chance of continuing because it belongs to the country. But even where diagnoses are accurate and approaches correct, in practice training assistance often consists of small disaggregated operations, making it all the more important that training should be viewed as an essential function of co-operation and new directions accepted throughout the departments of an aid agency. On this more structural aspect, as well, some encouraging initiatives have been taken by DAC Members such as Australia, Canada and Germany, for more sytematic consideration of training needs related to capital aid, and the European Development Fund, for better integration of training capabilities in the departments dealing with aid for infrastructure.

In may 1980, the DAC had met to consider which activities it could most usefully undertake in the broad area of human resources development, whse importance had been stressed by the late Prime Minister of Japan, Mr. Ohira, during UNCTADV. Training was selected as the first general subject. In June 1982, the Committee devoted a two-day meeting to review of a cluster of issues relating to training assistance, with the participation of officials in charge of training activities in the aid agencies and of experts from developing countries. The meeting focused on training for developmental purposes, and on the middle rather than the higher levels of training, on the poorest rather than the relatively more advanced developing contries, on training assistance within the developing countries rather than on training abroad, and on four sectors in particular: public adminisration (with main emphasis on manpower planning), agriculture, industry and maintenance. A set of conclusions and recommendations - "Principles and Priorities for Training Assistace" - was prepared in the light of the

discussion. After a brief sketch of some of the recent trends in training assistance, the full text of the conclusions and recommendations is presented in Section 2.

1. RECENT TRENDS IN TRAINING ASSISTANCE

Although quantitative global measurement of training assistance present numerous problems, the signs are that training has maintained its place in the assistance programmes of DAC Members. At the same time, there have been changes in the trends for individual components of training programmes as well as a welcome tendency for training to permeate various aspects of development co-operation. The only element of training assistance which can be readily measured related to individual fellowships for study and training (in the donor, the home or third countries). For DAC Members combined, expenditures on individual fellowships amounted to some \$500 million in 1979 and \$600 million in 1980, corresponding to about 10 per cent of bilateral technical co-operation. These amounts support annually some 110 000 students and trainees from the Third World: a small number relative to the hundreds of thousands of Third World students enrolled at their own expense in institutions of learning in the advanced countries. But whereas part of the study grants are awarded by cultural rather than developmental programmes, a share of the students and the bulk of trainees financed by the aid agencies are people selected specifically for developmental purposes, not the promotion of the individual concerned. Trainees financed by technical co-operation include senior officials and managers as well as experienced middle-level personnel - many of the specialised course offered by DAC Members require a minimum working experience of three years - with a commitment from themselves and their governments that they will return to their countries in the posts for which they are being trained. Other valuable forms of support for training, such as assistance to institutions in the developing countries themselves and training components of aid-financed development projects, are additional to the data above but cannot be quantified with any degree of precision.

a) Individual fellowships

As far as individual fellowships are concerned, trends over the last decade show an increase in numbers of people as well as expenditures (see Table 1) although the share of training in bilateral technical co-operation has remained constant. Main features include:

- emphasis on Africa (about 32 600 study and training grants in 1979) and Asia (about 31 000).
- a persistence of the traditional emphasis on the higher level, although several DAC Members - notably Australia, Japan, Switzerland, the United States - place special emphasis on the middle-level;
- the bulk of grants continues to be awarded for study and training in the donor countries (79 per cent in 1979) rather than the home countries, although there has been an increase in grants for training in third (mostly developing) countries;
- a low share of grants awarded to women: averaging 8 per cent in 1980 for eight DAC Members which, for the first time, reported on women's participation (these eight Members accounted for 15 900 grants); the share ranged from 2 per cent for the United States to a high of 27 per cent for New Zealand.

While students (numbering about 52000 in 1980), are enrolled for regular studies mostly at university and post-graduate levels, trainees are received for varying durations and for a variety of forms of training. Many of these have been evolved over the years specifically for development purposes, including practical training, e.g. in industry, and attachments with public sector departments and agencies or private firms to gather practical experience, observation and study tours, and a wide range of special courses and seminars lasting from a few weeks to a few years. A few DAC donors concentrate on a small number of subjects in which they feel they have special expertise, for example Denmark with training for dairies, meat production, co-operatives and farming, and Finland with training for trade promotion, forestry and wood industry, and aircraft pilots and mechanics.

Table 1. BILATERAL FELLOWSHIP PROGRAMMES FINANCED BY DAC MEMBERS.

	1970, 1979, 1980					
	Number of students and trainees			Disbursements (\$ million)		
	1970	1979	1980	1970	1979	1980
Australia.....	2 769	3 112	3 393	7.2	16.3	21.0
Austria.....	367	4 427	5 351	0.4	19.5	20.7
Belgium.....	3 258	3 199	3 258	6.5	19.2	21.5
Canada.....	2 757	1 762	1 723	11.3	9.2	8.9
Denmark.....	383	507	556	2.0	9.6	8.7
Finland.....	..	397	394	..	2.2	3.0
France.....	14 191	18 718	17 580	22.7	(79.5)	78.6
Germany.....	19 646	33 260	38 414	54.7	80.3	107.7
Italy.....	1 512	1 988	2 007	2.6	14.1	14.8
Japan.....	3 675	9 197	9 342	5.8	55.4	63.4
Netherlands.....	1 209	1 296	1 256	3.2	10.6	10.9
New Zealand.....	..	979	992	..	3.9	3.5
Norway.....	276	902	1 260	0.6	3.8	5.0
Sweden.....	1 315	2	..	2.2	0.1	.
Switzerland.....	743	847	832	0.9	2.8	5.5
United Kingdom...	12 056	17 434	15 507	21.4	71.9	113.9
United States....	18 272	7 967	6 854	30.0	..	77.2 ^b
Total DAC.....	82 429	105 994	108 789	171.5	(398.2) ^a	564.3
CEC.....	2 357	5 142	..		27.7	..

Notes: The data include both long-term and short-term students and trainees, as well as participants in short-term seminars, which are not separately identified in DAC reporting.

Data on numbers of and disbursements on students and trainees for Austria for 1970 exclude students from developing countries not financed by technical co-operation but enrolled at educational institutions of the reporting country and the corresponding imputed value, but include them for all other years shown here.

Data for Germany after 1970 include language trainees and trainees in country of origin, not included previously. Data for Sweden after 1970 reflect a policy decision away from the financing of developing country nationals for regular studies and long-term training in Sweden.

a) Excluding the United States.

b) Excluding third-country training.

b) The training function of experts

DAC Members also supply technical and vocational teachers, some 3 500 in 1978 (mainly from the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Canada), serving in developing countries either to fill posts in their education system or staffing aid-financed training projects. In capital and technical co-operation projects, experts are expected to train their counterparts and, in addition, a majority of technical co-operation experts could also have a training function with respect to host-country nationals with whom they work.

c) Training components in development projects

Several DAC Members have recently taken measures to ensure that training is more systematically integrated, wherever appropriate, in aid-financed development projects in all sectors, one of the purposes being to ensure their good management once foreign assistance is terminated. This is done through variety of means. Some DAC Members, such as Germany, stipulate that all capital aid projects should have a training component; others, such as Norway, screen projects to ensure that training implications are translated into training activities. The Commission of the European Communities is rearranging its services to better integrate education and training with aid for infrastructure. Australia is requiring of the contractors to which it entrusts development projects that specialised personnel be in charge of training. World Bank evaluations of the training components which are provided in about half of World-Bank-financed projects have led to the recommendation that allocations for training be funded separately from other project activities so as to ensure continuity and adequacy of resources. This is also the practice of Canada whose funding of training components is not channelled through the contractor in charge of implementing the project. It appears that results are best when a combination of different methods is used for training, such as on-the-job training of counterparts, the granting of fellowships to some of the nationals involved in the project, and the organisation of training activities in collaboration with local training institutions.

d) Strengthening of training institutions in the developing countries.

In the long run, training must become available to nationals of developing countries within these countries themselves and this implies the existence of adequate facilities. The institution-building stage of the 1960s has now been largely replaced by institution-strengthening, whereby DAC Members aim at improving the quality of teaching staff and methods and the equipment of existing training institutions. In this context, partnership arrangements established between institutions in the donor and the recipient country have been found to give good results: these links, however, which are widespread between higher education institutes, are still quite rare at sub-university level. Some DAC Members which have traditionally been supplying sizeable numbers of teaching staff, such as Belgium and France, are now considering how to concentrate this assistance in future on the training of trainers rather than direct staffing of developing country training schools. A 1981 evaluation report on Belgian co-operation with Zaire in technical and vocational education stresses this desirable switch in emphasis and recommends that future assistance should aim at leaving behind local institutes with competent management, a quantitatively and qualitatively sufficient local teaching crops, adequate premises and equipment. Institutes to be assisted should be selected on the basis of their multiplier effect, their impact on the relevant sector (favouring the preparation of personnel for active life rather than for higher education), their contribution to social development (the training of paramedical personnel, for example, would qualify) and to the advancement of women.

The strengthening of in-country training capacity would make it possible to considerably expand in-service training, which is recognised as one of the major needs in civil service in all sectors. Here again, a combination of various methods of training appears to be the most effective, as illustrated by the experience of the United Kingdom ODA in providing in-service training for employees in the public sector, and by the evaluation reports related to this work. For example, the sensitisation to and training in manpower planning for civil servants in a given country may benefit from a coherent approach where advice provided by experts is coupled with fellowships for attending a

specialised institute in the United Kingdom, and, perhaps most important, gathering of data is conducted by trained nationals both for staff development purposes and to enable nationals to acquire the relevant practical experience.

Institutional development has no instant recipes and DAC Member countries are beginning to agree on a longer time horizon than was commonly envisaged for aid projects so far. Germany has been assisting some of its training projects within developing countries for ten years or more and USAID's latest programme and budget guidance to overseas missions stated that "in supporting institutional development, we need to be prepared to stay the course for as long as the process is likely to take, often a decade or more".

While not attempting to be comprehensive, the conclusions and recommendations of the DAC meeting, which are intended first and foremost for a process of internal orientation of the aid agencies, are felt to present sufficient points of interest on issues commonly faced in training assistance at the present time to warrant reproduction in full in the following section in order to share them with the development community at large.

2. PRINCIPLES AND PRIORITIES FOR TRAINING ASSISTANCE

Skilled manpower at all levels is a critical factor in development and in many cases more critical than availability of capital or natural resources. Hence training assistance will continue to be central to economic and technical development programmes and must be a key factor in technical and capital assistance. The challenge is to ensure quality and relevance in the training that is provided.

International development co-operation over the past twenty years has accumulated considerable experience in this field but more must be done to apply the lessons learned. It is clear, however, that there is no standard solution to the problems in this area as all training programmes must be adapted to the specific circumstances of the recipient country, which may vary considerably. Training programmes should be capable of being adapted over time to meet rapidly changing

requirements. More attention should be paid to the setting in which returned training given: technical co-operation inputs, for example for management and organisation, may be needed to supplement the training effort.

Experience has shown both the fundamental importance of basic and higher education in contributing to the training of manpower in developing countries, but also the inadequacies at both levels and the need for supplemental training interventions, frequently requiring external support. The link between education and training should be the object of careful study.

a) Assessment of needs

There are real difficulties in assessing the impact of training assistance, whether at the level of individual projects or over a broader and longer term, but there is evidence that the situation of developing countries in respect of the qualified manpower they have available and are able to train has improved considerably over the last 10 to 20 years. However, there persist in many countries serious imbalances at particular levels, notably middle-level personnel, and in particular sectors, such as agriculture. Development co-operation agencies should give due attention to evaluating their training assistance and help to create conditions which will better relate training to the needs of the economy, in particular by assisting developing countries to acquire a capacity for assessing training needs.

It is important if donors are to be able to respond effectively that developing countries should announce their need for training assistance in detailed and specific fashion. Assessing manpower needs is however an extremely difficult task, especially in situations where needs are bound to change rapidly and are often unpredictable as a result of internal and external economic trends. The main recurring problem in assessing training needs is the scarcity of reliable information, linked to the absence or weakness of an internal government structure in the recipient country for the identification of these needs, so that requests for training are often made ad hoc, with little consideration of broader needs and priorities. Manpower planning should

therefore, in such cases, be an integral part of training assistance to developing countries, to identify staff needs and the training required for staff development.

Several conditions should be fulfilled for manpower planning to be effective:

- close analysis of the conditions of the country concerned and the objectives of the particular project;
- taking stock of work already done or in process and understanding why previous research has been ignored or recommendations not implemented;
- securing local collaboration to ensure awareness of what is possible, the political will to implement recommendations and the readiness to eventually continue the activity after termination of external assistance;
- drawing up the terms of reference with sufficient precision, obtaining agreement at senior level, and, as far as possible, avoiding the grandiose and tailoring them to specific problems.

If manpower planning work is undertaken on one occasion and then left, it soon becomes out of date. The importance of developing a local capacity to take over the work in a comprehensive and co-ordinated fashion and on continuing basis is evidently essential and should be a priority task for external assistance. This would require on the part of the host government the creation of manpower-planning/training-needs analysis units both at central and sector levels in the appropriate ministries, and on the part of donors, in addition to the normal practice of providing training for counterpart staff, increased assistance for the development of in-country training designed to improve the capacity of staff generally in the field rather than a few isolated individuals. This can be done by several concurrent means through use of a specialised donor country institution; use of developing country staff trained there; and, particularly, collaboration with existing training facilities in the developing country concerned.

Although it is difficult to measure the effectiveness of training, some evaluation feedback should be integrated in the work of the manpower-planning/training units, to assess the utilisation of the training received, its usefulness and multiplier effect, and adjust training programmes to changing needs.

Donors can also assist in identifying manpower needs by paying more attention to the problem of trained manpower in sector and sub-sector analysis (recognising that some of the resulting manpower needs may occur in trades which are not normally associated with the sector concerned), and at the project level. Another precaution to be followed is to associate potential employers, be it in the productive sector or the administration, as closely as possible with various phases of the training process. When considering the setting up of industrial training projects, for example, one DAC Member routinely includes enquiries with local firms as to employment prospects.

Donors should be careful when assessing future manpower requirements related to a project, particularly in the poorest countries, that such forecasts are compatible with the host country's employment capability. Particularly in rural development projects, attention should be paid to possible alternative low-cost innovative approaches relying more on community participation, supported by appropriate communication.

b) Desirable new emphases in general orientation of training assistance

Keeping in mind the diversity of country situations, greater emphasis should be placed on the training of middle-level personnel and of working-level personnel with particular emphasis on appropriate programmes of trainers' training. The training of middle-level personnel and workers should be conducted as much as possible in the developing countries themselves (as shown by experience, this is where the best results are obtained), through in-service and on-the-job training and at national and regional institutions. In this connection, attention should be paid to the motivational factors which may help retain trained manpower in the home countries and in particular in the trade skills.

Although there has been a trend over the last decade towards more in-country and third-country training, there are strong arguments in favour of strengthening this trend, particularly at middle level. These include such factors as cost, more relevant technology, and, perhaps most important, the additional support which it provides for improving the quality of Third World training institutions.

Every effort should be made to improve the quality of the trainees graduating from existing in-country institutions, particularly in the technical and vocational skills areas, entailing more assistance for the training and up-grading of trainers, for the provision of adequate equipment and supplies and for the establishment of appropriate curricula.

The share of women in training grants is very small and inadequate attention is being paid to women in the design of in-country training programmes, e.g. in agriculture. In the case of agricultural development projects, women's participation in training activities can be meaningfully increased by more careful investigation beforehand of such factors as the respective sources of income of men and women in the area as well as by accurate consideration of the consequences for women of activities envisaged for the project.

Not enough attention has been paid so far to the educational background of the manpower to be trained at lower levels, particularly in the rural and non-formal sectors. Where formal basic education is not universally accessible, suitable alternative ways for acquiring basic education, including non-formal education, should be sought. In the non-formal sector outside agriculture, donors should in the first place pay attention to the need for more information on career paths.

c) Training methods

The success of training programmes depends significantly on the effective selection of trainees and their subsequent employment in the jobs for which they were trained. In a number of cases, appropriate support may be needed for them to apply their skills and this is optimised where training is part of an institutional development programme.

Greater emphasis should be placed wherever appropriate on on-the-job training which is in many cases not only the most cost-effective but also the most relevant type of training to developing country needs.

All too often, training programmes do not have a "training of trainers" element in them. For a number of reasons, including the multiplier effect of this approach and its lasting contribution to developing countries' skills and capacity, donors should give priority wherever feasible to the training of trainers, preferably through institution-building in the developing countries.

Counterpart training will remain an essential part of donors' programmes but it should be approached realistically. When the training of counterparts is an essential task of the expert's assignment, the expert's training aptitude should be a requirement for recruitment and concurrently the selection and presence of counterparts should be agreed upon with the partner country authorities. In other cases, especially in larger functions of experts, e.g. by recruiting special staff for training. It is important to ensure foreign aid for the particular activity concerned is phased out.

In many cases, returns from capital projects are lower than could be expected, due to the lack or inadequacy of concomitant technical co-operation measures, including components are appropriate, they should be integrated in project design from the outset. Routine screening of projects is now done by several DAC Members but the practice should be expanded to cover all donors. A number of DAC donors have also found it useful to provide a separate allocation of funds for training purposes. A survey of existing training facilities in the project area should be made routinely with a view to using such facilities wherever appropriate for training activities related to the project, strengthening them if needed. Training activities related to capital projects may lend themselves particularly well to joint multi-donor support.

More attention should be paid to the training functions of technical co-operation experts, initially by studying the actual circumstances of service and the opportunities which they may have to train nationals. Conceptual and material support from the aid agencies for their training functions may be necessary in a number of cases.

In the evaluation of training programmes due attention should be paid to the training functions of supervisory personnel and foremen and to the continued provision of training opportunities throughout their professional career. Methods and devices for applying new educational technology to the continued improvement of training programmes should be periodically up-dated.

The importance of in-service and refresher training cannot be overstated, for maintaining and upgrading skills and work morale and keeping abreast of new developments, particularly in activities using personnel who have received only limited training. In-service training should be developed on a scale more commensurate with needs, with more attention paid to incorporating an in-service training capacity in projects, particularly those related to the improvement of services (e.g. in agriculture, health, education, public administration).

Remedial courses to bridge gaps, where needed, between the educational background of potential trainees and the requirements of training programmes should receive more attention from donors. The same applies to possible bridging courses in the interval between the termination of formal training programmes and employment.

Experience shows that a combination of different training methods often gives best results. It also shows that in order to attain a "critical mass" more above to sustain change, more attention should be paid to training groups of people from the same work milieu rather than the training of isolated individuals. For the same reasons, to enhance the impact of training, some exposure to new methods and attitudes (for example in management) should be provided also to higher echelons so that trained individuals working under their authority may more effectively apply what they have been learning.

Attachments to private firms as well as governmental agencies in the donor countries may provide trainees with specially valuable practical and organisational experience and should be encouraged whenever appropriate.

d) Sectoral aspects of training

Discussion of selected sectors, including public administration in addition to those listed below, led to the elaboration of a number of general conclusions found in various sections of these recommendations. There were also certain points which remained specific to the individual sectors:

i) Agriculture and rural development

With respect to agriculture and rural development, two interdependent levels should be distinguished:

- a) education of farmers and the rural populations in general;
- b) training which is directly aimed at agricultural development.

At the level of farmers and rural populations, basic education, including counting and simple management related to production, marketing etc. and aimed at increasing producers' and consumers' self-reliance, is the most urgent need, and represents both a human right and a prerequisite for training. Existing educational systems have severe deficiencies in a number of the poorer countries either quantitatively, because they are unable to achieve universal enrolment at primary level, or qualitatively as they do not meet the aspirations of the rural milieu, or both. Education in any event is but one of the several factors needed to improve the status of the rural milieu. It is particularly to meet the needs of rural people who have not obtained a relevant education that more attention should be paid to non-formal education and training and initially to the training of higher-level national "cadres" to design, and experiment with, alternative ways of providing basic education to the young and adult populations.

More care should be given to the training of artisans in rural trades, such as carpenters and blacksmiths (producing, for example, metal and wood parts for agricultural tools and equipment) and to providing them where necessary with the initial support which will enable them to produce and earn an income.

With respect to training directly related to agricultural production, agricultural development projects should be more consistently used for the education and training of farmers, fostering their capacity to organise for management, marketing, etc. rather than treating them as passive recipients of instructions, as is still sometimes the case today.

At the level of intermediate staff, in agricultural extension services and other agriculture-related services, in the first place, training units should be established for the identification of skilled manpower needs and the definition of the related training needs. In many countries, a reform of the training of middle-level agricultural technicians is needed. Some of the guiding principles are:

- the training institutions should be in much closer contact with research and development agencies, which will employ the trained output, for example, by including users, such as representatives of research and development agencies, on their boards; providing for alternate spells of teaching and other professional work (e.g. in development projects) for their teachers;
- the contents of training should be subject to revision and updating on a permanent basis; they should relate to the environment and to local agricultural seasons;
- teaching methods should equip trainees for enlightened action, and develop their managerial capacity, and should alternate practical training through attachments to development agencies, etc. with theoretical learning;
- there should be opportunities for refresher and up-grading training;
- there should be adequate equipment for transport, for receiving trainees undergoing practical training, for documentation;
- in addition to skills, attention should be paid to attitudes and behaviour, fostering both action-orientation and an attitude of service to farmers' advancement.

ii) Industry

Frequent problems encountered in industrial training are:

- the lack of employment opportunities once training is completed, because the economic conditions for promoting manufacturing do not exist in the country in the first place;
- inadequate educational basis of potential trainees;
- inappropriate choice of project site.

The main causes of these problems include lack of basic data and inadequate internal co-ordination among host country agencies. These problems should be identified at planning stage and remedial action taken, through appropriate in-country dialogue as well as feasibility studies.

With respect to methods and motivation, it would be well to do a detailed analysis of the reasons for success in the private sector in training for industry and, wherever possible, apply the lessons learned to the public sector.

iii) Maintenance

Appropriate training is a continuing and critical factor in reducing the enormous losses caused each year in developing countries by inadequate or inefficient maintenance. Although electrical engineering, metalworking and automotive engineering are the major trades involved in maintenance, maintenance is not a special problem for individual sectors but should be a concern in all sectors equally, including a country's physical infrastructure for transport and social services.

Maintenance-consciousness must be promoted on a wide level and can only be initiated at the level of the political leadership and managers. To this end, donors should as much as possible and starting with the design stage involve host-country services competent for the particular area and develop their capacity to ensure continuity.

The tasks involved in maintenance are very complex. The training most expediently should take the form of a wide-ranging basic training, a short upgrading course and an introduction to the specific plan. For example, for maintenance tasks in industry the factory floor is the most suitable place of learning.

e) Financial support and aid procedures

One of the essential conclusions which was repeatedly stated in the meeting was the need for training to be carried out on the spot. To the extent that this goes beyond the provision of expatriate training personnel, this involves the provision of current expenditures. While this raises problems of principle for a number of donors, a number have been able to supply such assistance in particular cases of need. This forms part of the larger issue of recurrent costs which is the subject of DAC guidelines.² In this connection, the meeting noted that one DAC Member provides financial assistance, dissociated from its training assistance, to several training institutes in poor countries, particularly in Africa, whose training functions would otherwise come to an end because of inadequate resources for recurrent costs, a situation often found in the poorest and particularly the least-developed countries.

The utilisation of local firms (as well as local materials and equipment) for building training and educational centres and institutions is a practice which should be expanded wherever feasible as it generates income and employment for local workers. Evaluations of a DAC Member also point out the value of the experience for local firms, which may not be familiar with the execution of relatively large projects, and report that in very poor countries lacking the experienced personnel needed for such construction work, the provision of technical assistance in the form of experts and training has satisfactorily solved the problem. In addition, on DAC Member's experience with the involvement of local communities in the design and construction of social infrastructure at village level has been particularly positive for the subsequent maintenance of such infrastructure.

2. Development Co-operation. Efforts and Policies of the Members of the Development Assistance Committee, 1979, Review, Annex.III. OECD, Paris.

f) Collaboration among donors

Much closer consultation among donors and with the appropriate host country authorities is desirable and may lead among other beneficial results to co-operative and joint activities, including burden-sharing in co-financed projects.

While the thrust of co-ordination should be in-country, there may be merit in holding brief organisational consultations among groupings of donors on training in particular sectors within a limited and homogeneous geographic framework, for example on expected future trends. In addition, opportunities for more regular exchange of information, evaluation reports etc. among officials in charge of training in DAC Members' aid agencies should be explored.

g) Collaboration with private enterprise

There may be scope for closer collaboration with private enterprises, for example by

- a) sub-contracting training activities to private organisations with professional training experience.
- b) financing apprenticeships or other forms of long or short-term training in private firms, and,
- c) providing direct assistance to apprenticeship schemes in private firms in developing countries.

h) Collaboration with NGOs

Certain specialised non-governmental organisations may often be the most appropriate executing agencies for officially-aided training schemes in developing countries, especially in rural areas, where NGOs have social dimension in their training activities and foster the local population's self-reliance, for example when operating small centres for training in agriculture and health care, as well as literacy and the promotion of co-operatives. Attention might be paid to collecting some more systematic evidence on NGOs' activities in education and training.

i) Partnership arrangements between training institutions

The use of institutional links can be particularly productive and cost-effective knowledge of local situations, access to proven training methods, and the identification of training needs are facilitated, and the personal links created over time make the work collaborative rather than paternalistic. Official support for partnership arrangement between institutions in developed and developing countries is of particular importance in matters related to training, not only because of the resulting technical exchange but

- a) because these arrangements provide a continuity which is not always easy to achieve,
- b) because they can help to reduce the heavy burden on official administrative staff which is a feature of training programmes,
- c) because they provide the possibility, when associated with particular region and/or sectors, of providing a flexible means of adapting training to perceive needs, and
- d) because they enhance institutional development and improvement.

Networks linking several institutions are particularly promising in science and technology and in development studies, an area where the Development centre of OECD has promoted valuable regional networks of research and training institutions. At sub-university level, linkages between technical and vocational training institutes are rare and experimental efforts at multiplying them should be promoted by the aid agencies with a view to strengthening the developing country partners.

COOPERATION IN ADMINISTRATIVE TRAINING
AMONG DEVELOPING COUNTRIES:
EXPERIENCES WITH SHARING THE INDIAN EXPERTISE

BY
HARI MOHAN MATHUR

FROM THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, OCTOBER-DECEMBER 1981,
VOL. XXVII, NO. 4.

One lesson from the past three decades of development effort which the developing countries are beginning to learn is that through increased mutual cooperation among themselves they can boldly face up to many challenges on the development frontiers. All these years the developing countries have looked only to the developed nations for assistance in their development plans, little realising that there are areas of endeavour where they can easily depend on their own collective strength¹. The developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America aspire to broadly similar goals to improving the quality of life of poor masses, and for their struggle against underdevelopment they must resolve problems which, in essence, are alike. The case for more south-south cooperation, which the United Nations is vigorously advocating, is to be seen in this context.² In the coming years technical cooperation among developing countries (TCLC) is likely to play an increasingly vital role in the promotion of development.

Training of development administrators is an area that offers great possibilities for cooperation. Compared to training in the developed countries, the training in developing countries is more relevant to the job needs and less expensive. Developing countries vary greatly in their administrative capability. Studies indicate that there is a clear need to upgrade this capability almost everywhere.³ New development tasks can be handled only by administrators who are adequately trained. Also, developing countries show great variability in their capability to train manpower. While education and training systems in some countries have attained a high degree of sophistication, quite a large number of

-
1. Shridath Rampal, *One World To Share*, London, Hutchinson Benham, 1979, (See in particular the section "An Agenda for the South"), pp.149-204.
 2. Report of the United Nations Conference on Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries, Buenos Aires, 30 August to 12 September 1978, New York, United Nations (Sales No.E.78. 11.A.11).
 3. World Development Report, 1980. Washington DC. The World Bank (August 1980). "Chapter 6: Implementing Human Development Programs: Some Practical Lessons" of this Report is relevant to the discussion here. Also see Esman, Milton and Jon Montgomery, "The Administration of Human Development" in Peter T. Knight (ed.) *Implementing Programs of Human Development*, 11980, World Bank Staff Working Paper No.403, July 1980, Washington DC; The World Bank.

countries lacks sufficient facilities. It is thus obvious that through mutual cooperation in the field of development training, the developing countries can help strengthen their administrative systems considerably.

TRADITIONAL NOTIONS OF TRAINING ABROAD

However, under the existing patterns of international cooperation in the area of administrative training, there is a continuing dependence on the developed countries. Every year administrators from the third world go in large numbers to training institutions in England, France, Netherlands, USA, etc. Governments in these countries have deliberately encouraged establishment of institutions to meet training needs of administrators from the developing countries.⁴ Under the various bilateral programmes of technical cooperation the administrators are awarded fellowships to attend training programmes at these training and educational centres. Other international donors, such as the Ford Foundation, also encourage utilisation of these training facilities by the administrators from third world countries.

Partly this tilt in favour of training in developed countries has a historical background. During colonial days, administrators in the third world were linked to the developed countries for their training. The induction training for Indian administrators (members of the Indian Civil Service) was then provided in England. It was only after the outbreak of World War II that a college for this training was temporarily set up in India.

Independence did not snap these connections completely. In fact it provided an opportunity to the developed countries to expand their training activities for administrators from the newly independent nations, as would be evident from the following:

4. An example is the Institute Internationale d'Administration Publique, Paris. Formerly meant for the training of French colonial administrators, this institute now provides training to the civil servants from developing countries.

Trying to build good governments in newly-awakened nations has been one of the great ventures of our times. It has been mostly the business of people in their own countries, but some of us, and the Maxwell School in enviable measure, have had the good fortune to join in the venture. In retrospect, it begins to look like a remarkable historical fact that we have been admitted to such intimate associations with governments in foreign lands as we have. We were asked to help in many places, and we plunged into ambitious programmes of training, advising, reorganisation and reform. I doubt that there are many of us who have not been happy in this work and grateful for the opportunities we have had in it.⁵

Those concerned with the training world administrators in the developed countries are strongly of the view that their training has an important contribution to make. The case for more training in England (as opposed to training at other places with British support) was argued a few years ago like this:

Before embarking on a policy seriously designed to reverse the balance of UK t/c recipients studying in the UK and developing countries, most careful consideration should be given to the unquantifiable costs of such a step. At the risk of being labelled jingoistic I still consider that the quality of life on display in the UK - deteriorating though it undoubtedly is - may nevertheless form a useful yardstick for visitors from overseas. It might be said that in spite of the processes of history an enormous fund of goodwill to the UK exists, certainly in the countries visited on this tour. We would surely be ill-advised to take positive steps to erode that goodwill, for that would in my opinion be an inevitable outcome should further training in Britain for LDC nationals be

5. Francis X. Sutton, "Public Management and Development Assistance" in Irving Swerdlow and Marcus Ingle (eds.) *Public Administration Training for the Less Developed Countries*, Syracuse, N.Y., Maxwell School, 1974. Also see in this connection, Zoe Allen, "From Shirt-Sleeve Diplomacy and Localization to Aid for Development Administration: The Foreign Support Element", in Bernard Schaffer (ed.), *Administrative Training and Development*, New York, Praeger Publishers, 1974, pp.69-123.

restricted to courses "which cannot be provided in developing countries". I do not believe that in the event this will happen... Apart from the insistence of recipients on rich country based experience, there is a hunger for research degrees from rich country institutions which, despite official avowals to the contrary, are still considered by their holders to likely to further their careers in a way that locally-obtained qualifications cannot be expected to do.⁶

A recent view from West Germany on this subject is not much different:

Empirical data has proved that developing countries are still interested in sending post-graduate students to industrialised countries to complete their studies in administrative sciences. This is not only a problem of the general intercultural exchanges, but also a specific question of knowledge and skills needed for the purpose of development....⁷

NEW TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

In many areas training in developed countries will remain useful for administrators from developing countries for quite some time to come. And it would be a great tragedy if such opportunities for learning and exchange of experience are not utilised to the full. However, it is important to recognise that in most areas of administrative training it is in the developing countries alone that the really useful training can take place.⁸ Administrators from developing countries are beginning to

-
6. Jake Jacobs, "Third Country Training: Prospects and Attitudes as seen in the Developing Countries", in Cruise O'Brien, and Jake Jacobs 1977, pp.28-29, Third Country Training: An Evaluation, London, Ministry of Overseas Development. See also in this report the paper by Cruise O'Brien, "Third Country Training as seen in the Donor Countries".
 7. Proposals for a curriculum, The Post-Graduate School of Administrative Sciences, Speyer, March 1981, (p.1).
 8. Training for developing country administrators in other developing countries which are relatively more developed is beginning to interest more and more planners of technical operation projects. See in this connection, Raman, N. Pattabhi, "Training of Nationals of Developing Countries: Two Proposals", International Developing Review/Focus, 1977/2 (pp.19-20).

realise the importance of this fact and some exchanges for purposes of training, such as under the Colombo Plan, have already proved their worth.

There are now many who question the relevance of developed country training to the requirements of administrators in developing countries.⁹ On the irrelevance of such transfers of knowledge and knowhow, it was noted some time ago:

Experience has shown that effective technical assistance is not easy. Only too often the transfer of knowledge and knowhow becomes a mechanical projection of the rich countries' own view of technology and education, while low income countries need new and different solutions to their unique problems. The Commission has encountered much thoughtful concern about this vital activity and believes that a reorientation of the technical staff would be an important contribution to accelerating development.¹⁰

Since then doubts have begun to be openly expressed in the developed countries themselves on the value of technical assistance to the developing countries in the field of public administration. As one observer recently noted: "Three decades of experience since point IV, plus the influence of the behavioral social sciences have produced a disillusioned mood among developmentalists in all fields, including public administration."¹¹

While it is being widely realised that administrative training in the developed countries is not what the developing countries really need and that they must cooperate among themselves to get the right kind of

9. K. Twum-Baro, a. Development of Agricultural Education. Tema, Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1977 (Describes dangers inherent in the uncritical imitation of foreign agricultural education).

10. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Partners in Development: Report of the Commission on International Development, New York: Praeger, 1969, pp.179-180.

11. Milton J. Esman, "Development Assistance in Public Administration", Public Administration Review, Vol. 40, Number 5, (September/October 1980), pp.426-431. See also in the same issue of this journal. John L. Seitz, "The Failure of US Technical Assistance in Public Administration", pp. 407-413.

training, very little appears to have been done to promote TCDC in this field. A few initiatives that have been taken are yet to be documented.

WHAT INDIA CAN DO

With a large number of educational and training institutions and trained manpower which is third largest in the entire world, India is in a unique position to share its training expertise with administrators and other professionals from the developing countries.¹² Some of the training institutions have long been attracting in their courses participants from many developing countries.¹³ Several UN agencies are utilising their expertise in conducting training courses in which trainees from abroad participate. Some foreign governments have also been sending their administrators for training to these institutions at their own cost.

Recently the Training Division of the Government of India carried out a quick survey to assess the capability of training institutions in the country to provide administrative training to development administrators in third world countries.¹⁴ A questionnaire was sent to 80 training institutions. Of these, 55 responded. An analysis of this data indicates that 35 training institutions have the requisite capability. These institutions are in a position to conduct training courses in a wide range of subjects relevant to the work of administrators in developing countries.

In fact 33 training institutions already are involved in training for overseas administrators. They have turned out over 850 trainees in the past 3 years, 1978-80. Another 10 institutions indicate that though

12. Government of India, 1980 Directory of Training Institutions, New Delhi, Training division, Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms, February 1980, (Training Monograph No. 24).

13. The number of trainees from some developing countries in India has grown quite large, and education counsellors have been posted in some missions of these countries in New Delhi.

14. Government of India, Technical Cooperation in Administrative Training; What India Can Offer, New Delhi, Training Division, Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms, 1981.

they do not conduct training for overseas administrators they can arrange such courses even at a short notice.

The findings of this survey clearly establish the capability of training institutions in India to conduct training for overseas administrators. Given support, many more institutions can become fit enough to handle this task. There are no manpower constraints to expansion in this sector.

AN EXAMPLE OF TCDC FROM INDIA

Against this background, what the Training Division, Government of India, has done in recent years to promote TCDC in administrative training merits a closer look. It was in 1969 that the Training division conducted its first training course for overseas administrators. This 3-month course on work study was conducted from 24 May to 24 August 1969 at Colombo, Sri Lanka. At the request of the Government of Sri Lanka a team of trainers was sent for the purpose.

In India the first training programme on the broad theme of management for development was conducted in 1972 at the Training Division's International Training Centre located on the Jawaharlal Nehru University campus. This was a 10-week programme for 10 participants from 9 developing countries. Three more such programmes were conducted in the following three successive years. This was done on a purely ad hoc basis.

Training for overseas administrators at the Training Division Centre became an integral part of the TCDC effort only from 1977 when it was decided to conduct such courses as a continuing activity to share the Indian training expertise with other developing countries. Programmes have since been done more frequently, in newer areas. The number of participants and the number of participating countries has since gone up. Over 250 participants from nearly 50 countries have attended these

courses so far.¹⁵ (see Table next page) Apart from the course in the broad field of development administration, other areas in which training has been conducted include public enterprise development, rural development administration, financial management, and training of trainers.

The Training division now conducts two programmes every year on a regular basis, in addition to other short duration programmes, usually in collaboration with the UN and other international agencies.¹⁶ One programme is on general development administration. The programme for 1981 is titled 'Development Administration: Approaches, Planning, Management'.¹⁷ The theme of the other programme keeps changing. Two programmes on financial management were conducted in the past. The next programme has been planned on the theme 'Training of Trainers in Development Administration'.

The objective of this training is to broaden the development experience and knowledge of the participants and to improve their skills for better planning and implementation of development programmes. This objective is sought to be achieved by a blend of training methods which include lecture discussion by faculty drawn from universities and government organisations and inputs provided by the participants themselves. Participants are encouraged to share their own unique, diverse development experience. The underlying assumption is that training is a two-way process. A study tour to development sites is part of the curriculum. Attachments with some organisations and institutions are also arranged as required.

15. Government of India, Directory of Participants from Developing Countries. Training of Administrators for Development, New Delhi, Training Division, Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms, 1981.

16. Information is available in the brochure Training of Administrators for Development: Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries, Training division, Government of India, Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms, New Delhi, 1981.

17. See the programme brochure, Development Administration: Approaches, Planning, Management, (28 September - 19 December 1981), Government of India, Training division, Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms, New Delhi, 1981.

DEVELOPMENT TRAINING PROGRAMMES FOR OVERSEAS ADMINISTRATORS

Distribution of Participants by Country

Country	Number	Country	Number
Afghanistan	15	Malaysia	15
Australia	1	Malta	1
Bahrain	2	Mauritius	4
Bangladesh	17	Nepal	14
Barbados	1	Newzealand	1
Bhutan	4	Nigeria	1
Botswana	1	Papua New Guinea	3
Britain	2	Pakistan	2
Burma	1	Peru	1
Canda	1	Philippines	13
Ethiopia	7	Sierra Leone	1
Fiji	1	Singapore	4
Gambia	2	Sri Lanka	18
Ghana	4	Sudan	5
Guyana	1	Swaziland	1
Indonesia	15	Syria	2
Iran	10	Tanzania	6
Iraq	4	Thailand	11
Jordan	8	Tonga	2
Jamaica	1	Trinidad & Tabago	1
Kenya	5	Uganda	1
Korea (South)	5	Western Samoa	1
Laos	1	Yemen	1
Lesotho	2	Yemen Arab Republic	2
Malawi	5	Zambia	11

Basically these programmes are meant for the government officials in developing countries working at the middle management levels responsible programme is intended for a group of 25 participants. These courses are residential. Furnished accommodation is provided to the participants at the training centre. The duration of the programmes ranges from 10 to 12 weeks. The language of these courses is English. Upon successful completion of training the participants are awarded certificates.

All expenses on travel, both international and internal, as well as subsistence are met by the Government of India. Fellowships are awarded under the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation Programme (ITEC), the Special Commonwealth Africa Assistance Plan (SCAAP), and the Colombo Plan. ITEC and SCAAP are administered by the Ministry of External Affairs and Colombo Plan is administered by the Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance. There are prescribed forms for sending the nominations. These forms and the programme brochures are available with the Indian missions in developing countries.

In addition to these two regular programmes, the Training division also conducts some programmes from time to time in collaboration with the various UN and other international agencies. TCDC is an important element of these programmes in that they bring together senior level officials from various developing countries, and they depend for their conduct on the local trainers. The themes for these programmes are major development challenges facing administrators in the developing countries. Often such programmes are regional (for Asia and the Pacific), but inter-regional programmes (for other regions in the third world) are also held. Expenses on these programmes are shared by the collaborating organisations and the Government of India.

SUCCESSSES, PROBLEMS AND SUGGESTIONS

India has been active in furthering TCDC in administrative training since over a decade now. Has this effort been successful? What problems have arisen? How can this training be managed better? Such

questions need to be examined to see whether the Indian experience can have lessons for others interested in this subject.¹⁸

Feedback from participants of the training programme discussed above would show that this effort has been highly successful. Many participants have written back, after return to their home countries, saying how greatly they benefited from training in India. Such unsolicited letters of praise can not be dismissed as mere nostalgia for the alma mater. In the opinion of some, who had earlier received training in developed countries, the training in India is far more relevant. From participants of almost all the training courses demand invariably comes for an increase in the duration of training so that they may have time to absorb more learning about things of direct use to them in their work situation.

There are other reasons to believe that this training is achieving its objectives fully. These training courses are becoming extremely popular. Reflecting this popularity are the following indicators:

1. More nominations are being received than the number of seats in a course. It is just not possible to accept all the nominations received.
2. The number of countries nominating officers for training has been rising. They must be finding this training relevant for their administrators.
3. Nominations from a country, which has once participated, tend to increase. This happens as a result of feedback which government get from participants of the previous programmes.
4. Several countries are willing to send officers for training in India at their own cost. Some actually have done that.

18. In another context, evaluation of training abroad was recently considered with a view to finding solutions to problems which appear relevant to this kind of training effort as well. See, UNESCO Workshop on Methodology and Techniques for the Evaluation of Fellowships and Training Programmes (Paris, UNESCO Headquarters, 24-28 November 1980). Paris, Fellowships Division, Cooperation for Development and External Relations Sector, 1980.

These programmes could not have become so widely known in such short a time with virtually no publicity if their users had not found them as meeting their needs in training. The results achieved to date are indeed very encouraging.

Organising this training for a group of administrators coming from diverse countries and cultures of Asia Africa and Latin America has not been an easy job.¹⁹ Many difficulties arose and have been resolved. Still some problems are persisting. It would be useful to briefly catalogue here some major issues related to this specific programme of training for overseas administrators:

- (a) A real problem is how to design the curricula for development administrators whose requirements are not the same. Development challenges which these countries face are broadly similar, but surely there is some uniqueness about them.
- (b) Can training be done very effectively for such a heterogeneous group? Or should training focus on some other less heterogeneous groupings?
- (c) Faculty for this training is drawn from organisations and institutions in India. It is well equipped to teach about development issues in the India context, but a training programme that also seeks to promote sharing of experience must have some faculty, preferably drawn from other developing countries as well.
- (d) The existing training materials are not all directly usable. A beginning has been made to produce materials relevant to the requirements of this training, but much more still remains to be done.

19. An account of problems that arise in providing training to administrators coming from a diverse background is available in P.S.N. Prasad, "Some Problems of Training in a Regional Institute and Prospects for Closer Cooperation between Training and Research Institutes in South-East Asia", Regional Cooperation in Asia (Annual Meeting of Directors of Development Training and Research Institutes, Tokyo, 10th - 14th March, 1969), Development Centre of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris, pp.53-58, 1970.

- (e) How to select participants of a somewhat similar background presents some difficulties. Some information concerning the candidates is received along with the nomination papers from the sponsoring governments. But this does not always enable selections to be made in a really satisfactory manner.
- (f) Most participants who finally come to the course are officers roughly of the same level-the middle level. But sometimes there is an unintended mixing of officers with some differences in background.
- (g) Communication is generally not a problem with most participants, but in some cases it is. However, as the course proceeds, participants seem to get over the difficulty. Progressively they begin to use the language with ease in all discussions.
- (h) There has been no follow-up. A systematic evaluation, even through the questionnaire method, cannot be made easily. Due to changes in address it is difficult to reach all the participants of the past courses.

These problems are not insurmountable, but effort will need to be made to overcome them. Much valuable experience has been gained, and this should help.

ROLE OF THE UN AND OTHER AGENCIES

UN and other international agencies are presently devoting serious thought to promoting action for the realisation of the TCDC objectives. TCDC has a large role to play in the field of administrative training. Training of the developing country administrators in other developing countries also gives an opportunity to observe developments of interest to them in the most direct manner possible. Once they became aware of developments in other developing countries which have lessons for them, they will themselves make efforts to benefit from that experience. It seems essential to build this foundation of first-hand knowledge for facilitating technical cooperation.

Developing countries are willing to learn from the experiences of one another. Some even have well developed expertise to share with others, as in the case of India which certainly has something to offer in the field of administrative training for development. But often these countries lack the financial resources needed to give a concrete shape to the TCDC concept. It is here that the UN and other international donors have a contribution to make.

In the specific field of administrative training for development, the UN and other international agencies can instantly initiate action along lines indicated below:

1. Identification of countries which have the training capability and the countries which require their administrators to be trained. Once this has been done, an effort can be made to possibly link the concerned countries for cooperation in this field. Even this knowledge might be useful for the countries concerned to explore ways of cooperation.
2. Countries requiring training of their administrators in other countries identified for the purpose will need assistance in the form of fellowships for travel and subsistence for training abroad. Funds can be set apart specifically for this purpose.
3. Institutions found fit enough for training the overseas administrators will need to be supported through a special assistance programme. These institutions will need help in many areas. Their capability to assess training needs of administrators from other developing countries, design relevant curricula, develop appropriate training materials, etc., will need to be strengthened. In some cases infrastructural facilities will need to be upgraded. Other institutions might require equipment, training aids, books and journals.
4. A fullfledged programme to develop trainers for this international training will need support. Fellowships will be needed for trainers to acquire a wider experience of development situations in developing countries. In some cases short term attachments with institutions in developed countries also may be required.

5. In countries where training institutions for administrators are not yet developed fully, training experts from other developing countries which have the requisite training experience will have to be provided.

TCDC in administrative training is a very recent development. If it is to produce the intended impact, a comprehensive plan of action will need to be developed. Here only some broad suggestions for improvement in the existing situation have been made. Ideally all the issues related to this subject first need to be discussed in an international meeting of experts before a plan of action finally emerges. Surely more international initiatives are needed for a discussion on this subject, for developing a plan of action, and then for seeing that this plan of action gets properly implemented.

THE GREAT TRAINING ROBBERY
-- A DISCUSSION OF TEACHING METHODOLOGIES

BY
JOHN MONTGOMERY

FROM TRAINING FOR AGRICULTURAL PROJECT MANAGEMENT - PAPERS FOR A
COMMONWEALTH WORKSHOP AT COLOMBO, 1979, COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT, LONDON.

If there are British and American traditions in training - in the case of agricultural project managers, for example - then both are probably wrong. The error is in direct proportion to the substantive content they impose. What is needed, especially in training agricultural project managers, is content linked to the needs of the trainees and not those of the trainers. Whether the Americans or the Britons are the more misguided could be treated as an empirical question; this paper does not tackle that task. But the extent to which these training traditions are off the track can be determined immediately once it becomes possible to find out what the substantive needs of the trainees are. It is this problem which we will address in this paper.

I

If there is an American tradition in this regard, it would appear in most of the tremendous number of training projects directed, advised, or aided by Americans and American-trained nationals of other countries. The extent of the American involvement in training is so large that the consequences of misdirected efforts are unnerving. The US Department of Agriculture alone indicates that it has trained 50,000 foreign participants in agriculture and related areas over the past three decades. Under a contract with the Agency for International Development, the US Department of Agriculture is still offering more courses than some universities: fourteen distinct programmes in Washington, of one to two and a half months' full-time duration; twenty additional courses under contract to universities and other organizations; and twelve more programmes abroad in French, Spanish, English, and Arabic.¹ Then there is the Agency for International Development, which does most of its training in foreign countries, working through national institutions. Its efforts, though usually

1. Information from the office of Mr. Robert I Ayling, Deputy director for International Training, United States Department of Agriculture.

country-based, are usually intended to be regional prototypes. The economic and rural management project in Ghana, for example, gives three-week seminars at the district level for managers on duty, who participate in three yearly cycles of successive courses and organized consultations. A Cornell University training and research programme under AID funding has offered courses in Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, and Thailand. Syracuse University and Vanderbilt University, again with support from AID, have also conducted courses for agricultural managers and specialists for many years, abroad or in the home campus. More than a hundred institutes of public administration around the world have received technical assistance from American universities. In addition to such direct activities involving the development and conduct of training courses, countless individual graduates of American universities occupy important training positions in national and regional centres throughout the world, very often replicating in only modestly altered form the courses that they themselves received in the United States. And I shouldn't be greatly surprised to find that most of the World Bank courses have been inoculated with an American virus.

The content of these courses displays to a remarkable extent the influence of the American public administration and organization theory. Many of the courses make extensive use of modules in economic analysis (especially of the benefit/cost variety), financial management, brainstorming techniques, various aspects of institution building and organization development, creative design, and, above all, techniques for monitoring project implementation such as PERT, CPA, or GANTT. The training process is usually participative, with groups and syndicates taking on various problem solving tasks as a means of enhancing individual learning and also encouraging the development of collaborative styles of management for the future. These problem-solving methods are often recognized by trainers as inapplicable to typical rural situations because collegial teams and relationships are not possible in isolated areas and the local data they require for efficient use are scarcer still. Nevertheless, intellectual discipline of these joint problem-solving exercises is thought to be valuable in

rural problem-solving contexts in itself (something like studying Latin in high school, or macroeconomics in college).

Many of the courses concentrate on improving management procedures: on examining where decisions are made in an organization, how much is delegated, how management by objective and group consensus can be developed, and how project designs can be improved by the application of data derived from management information systems.

One American characteristic that is universally sought in these courses is a "practical" outlook. Material is derived from field experience at home, including cases that have been gathered with great zeal by university contractors engaged in preparing course materials for their own classroom, then translated into the language of instruction of the participating country. Translation is the first step in rendering comparative experience available to a country whose own projects have not been systematically studied, but it is also unfortunately too often the last: the process of adaptation stops at the translation. Efforts to adapt training programmes to the needs of the local environment are usually limited to interviews with senior officials about organizational objectives, resources, and procedures. This form of local adaptation does produce training materials that are responsive to the "felt needs" of the leadership of the sponsoring organization, but it may not fit those of the trainees.

A further step toward localisation is the characteristic American effort to adapt training in standardized fields by developing case materials derived from local experience abroad. These case studies supplement and eventually substitute for similar studies produced in the United States and other countries. Critics charge that these cases are merely local versions of insights Americans had developed in studies of their own management practices. But they concede the advantage of using familiar settings for the purpose, and introducing cultural problems that are relevant to the future needs of trainees. It is surely a long step away from the academic abstractions that were used a half century ago in the training of local personnel for development projects. Whether it brings trainees sufficiently close to their future responsibilities to justify the effort is still a subject of debate.

Such, then, is the "American approach": pragmatic but somewhat standardized, taught in the local vernacular but using approaches developed elsewhere, applying local materials developed out of American analytic traditions, fixed on intermediate management objectives, proposing to measure administrative progress in rational, productivity terms and oriented toward the improvement of bureaucratic skills and analysis.

II

The Centre African de Formation et de Recherches Administratives pour le Development (CAFRAD), a regional center in Morocco established to provide assistance to training institutions in thirty-two member states of Africa, decided in 1974 to develop a model curriculum for training rural project managers in Anglophone and Francophone countries. The Centre, financed partly by American and partly by UN sources as well as by membership dues from the African participating states, decided to incorporate several characteristic American features in the proposed training. It hoped to serve the region, assuming regional problems to be sufficiently standard to yield to a uniform curriculum and training approach. The original design instruction was the product of a young graduate of an American institution who had knowledge of a standard curriculum but was entering his first assignment after leaving school. The plan was for a single curriculum to serve an eight to twelve week course that would be given in the centres of administration and training in the agriculture ministries and other institutions of the participating countries. Once the teaching plans had been perfected, the Centre expected to offer the classes to trainees from each country, who, after completing the courses, would return to their own institutions to adapt and transmit them directly to field workers engaged in the management of all kinds of rural development projects.

The directors of CAFRAD decided to pre-test their ideas in two member countries - Ghana and Zambia - by surveying the opinions and preferences of potential trainers and sponsors of training programmes there. The Ghana report examined the problems of developing a training programme in the particular setting of the proposed sponsoring

institutions, and focussed primarily on the design and content of a training programme that would serve its needs. The Zambia survey happened to coincide in time with a three day workshop in Lusaka at which 25 rural project managers were to participate. The analysis decided to take advantage of their presence to prepare an inductive study of the training needs of project managers, based on problems they were currently encountering. The procedure used in the Lusaka Workshop was an instrument developed during the session, applying the "critical incident" techniques to explore the trainees' experience. This method, which had been developed by American psychologists near the end of World War II, will be described in the next section.

The major finding of the workshop was that the training requirements for rural project managers in Zambia included several topics that had not been considered in the original curriculum. The problems these respondents encountered most frequently were the following:

1. Client relationships (i.e. dealing with local farmers they were supposed to help)
 - (a) offering technical services to clients;
 - (b) satisfying clients by offering substitute services when they were unable to provide what was requested;
 - (c) persuading clients to change their practices;
 - (d) organizing clients to help themselves;
 - (e) taking steps to protect collective resources of their project and of its members;
 - (f) allocating scarce resources among clients who made claims or demands;
 - (g) persuading clients to participate in group functions.
2. Staff management (that is, getting maximum performance from their immediate assistant)
 - (a) on the job training
 - (b) discipline
 - (c) work scheduling
 - (d) mediating disputes

- (e) organization and management practices
- (f) maintaining staff morale
- 3. Technical functions for project survival (especially in fields different from those in which the managers themselves had been trained)
 - (a) animal husbandry and agriculture
 - (b) machinery maintenance and improvisation for spare parts and repairs
 - (c) marketing
- 4. Bureaucratic procedures and politics (that is, manowuvering within the administrative system to get access to needed resources and services)
 - (a) "scrounging" equipment and services
 - (b) financial management
 - (c) dealing with colleagues at higher levels
- 5. Other functions
 - (a) community relations
 - (b) economics
 - (c) accounting

Of these topics that have been identified on the basis of the experiences reported in Lusaka, only organizing clients to help themselves (1d), on the job training, discipline, work scheduling, and organization and management practices (2a,b,c and e), and economics and accounting (5b and c) had been included in the original curriculum. If the total number of incidents involving these problems were added together, they constituted less than 30% of the total number of incients reported in response to the cirritical incident survey. In other words, the curriculum missed most of the trainees' needs.

While the survey itself was far from complete (see Section 3), there is no reason to believe that the proportion of these categories would be changed much if it had been possible to continue the experiment to its optimum coverage. It is probably fair to say that fewer than 1/3 of the

problems and issues faced most frequently by the project managers in their current jobs were mentioned in the original curriculum.

It may be objected that some of the skills required for the performance of these tasks were already possessed by the respondents. But other elements in the three-day workshop study would challenge this interpretation. The skills that the managers themselves identified as "their best" included, of course, important aspects of their work, but of the 56 skills listed on the questionnaire originally designed at CAFRAD, 42 were in areas in which they claimed little or no knowledge. The missing skills included some of the most important functions that were implied in the critical incident study. Moreover, it appeared that many of the skills that were used on the job had been learned there, through direct experience, rather than from their previous training. Not all of these skills (including, for example, various technical functions that may have been mislearned on the job, as well as mechanics) were not part of the original proposed curriculum.

Because such findings might be replicated in a future study of rural project management training, it may be useful to give a brief history and description of the critical incident technique.

III

The critical incident technique can be distinguished from survey instruments in three respects: (1) it develops a random sample of experience, not a sample of opinion from a representative population. Its representativeness comes about the sampling along a dimension of time, not from a stratified simulation of the universe of respondents. (2) It is a measure of the frequency of a defined set of events, not of the intensity of a belief or preference. (3) It is also a means of identifying critical variables in the performance of designated tasks, not the factors associated with a set of opinions.

The term was first used to describe an experiment conducted by group of American Air Force psychologists in response to the discovery that "good" pilots were failing in war, and "mediocre" pilots were

performing well. Combat success could not be predicted by the selection procedures or by the performance of cadet pilots during training. A careful study of the performance of pilots during the stress of combat led to the discovery that the requirements of success could be determined empirically. This finding made it possible to change procedures for the selection and training of pilots, and eventually it greatly reduced the incidence of combat failure. The tests and training procedures developed as a result of this research were later applied in American commercial air lines, with measurable improvements in accident rates and other objective indicators of performance.

The procedure became known as the critical incident approach because it uncovered the events which were important or "critical" in rendering performance effective or ineffective. The pilots were asked to recall specific incidents of their combat experience, and to recount the events involved. The incidents were described beginning with the most recent and working backwards in time. The pilots were not asked which were the most "important" or "typical" incidents. Nor did the questionnaire call for opinions, except in that it required the respondents to recall an experience, classify and present it in response to a specific question, and to describe it with sufficient clarity to permit its eventual coding and quantitative analysis.

The incidents are representative of the total universe of events involved because they are chosen on the basis of the recentness of their occurrence in the performance of a large number of actors. The randomness in time permits coders to classify their frequency. The most recent experience is always asked for first in the questionnaire, and then the next most recent. The universe of experience, not the universe of respondents, represents the objective target of the research.

The term "critical incident" has frequently been misused, and may have been a misnomer from the outset (it is not "critical" of anyone, but is significant to the performance of an assigned task). They are incidents, and not "cases" in the academic or clinical sense, though the term "critical incident" is sometimes misused to refer to cases used in educational situations - a context that is not at all similar to the collection of incidents as part of a research project.

New incidents have to be gathered until a very large number begin to replicate the experience: the total number has to be sufficiently large that additional increments of information do not provide additional examples of the kind of even already reported. At first, statisticians considered 5,1000 incidents sufficient to exhaust the universe of any particular task or function or occupation under study. But later statistical analysis of the results have shown that a very large proportion of the total number is reached by the time 500 incidents have been gathered: they will probably cover approximately half of the total number of categories that would appear in a complete sample, though it is not certain that the proportions of incident categories will remain constant, especially if the sampling of respondents is changed as the research proceeds.

Because of the cost of administering the questionnaire (it requires careful explanation and supervision), it is advisable to assemble a group of 25 to 200 respondents, give them standardized instruction in the use of the method, and then have each of them spend two hours at one sitting to complete the forms. Thereafter painstaking content analysis and independently verified coding of the incidents is necessary to ensure objectivity.

Over the past three decades the critical incident method has been applied to thousands of problems, ranging from combat experience in World War II to the management of retail stores, the performance of professional tasks in nursing, and even to various aspects of medical care.

IV

As a result of the Lusaka Workshop report, a new training curriculum was submitted to CAFRAD and subsequently tested in Kenya and applied in future training course undertaken to Affairs.

The identification of the training needs as perceived by respondents who are already performing development tasks does not, of course, exhaust the responsibilities of those engaged in designing curricula for management training. The task of converting experience to

training modules requires the same kind of expertise and intensiveness that have produced the British, French, and American traditions of instruction. Skills in developing materials for the local context will still be required. Furthermore, project operations may be expected to change in response to new policies, organizational rearrangements, or the addition of previously unavailable resources and functions, and these factors must also be considered in analyzing training needs and keeping programme relevant.

Critical incident studies, in short, are not a substitute for the skills and methodologies used in developing training programme. They will demonstrate the obsolescence or irrelevance of some instruction and the need for new approaches, but the demonstration is only on invitation. After that, the traditions can take over.

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS, POLICIES AND CRITERIA
FOR CURRICULA DESIGN

FROM CURRICULA DESIGN FOR MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT, REPORT OF AN EXPERT
GROUP WORKSHOP HELD AT ARUSHA, UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA, 20-24 JULY
1981, UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK, 1982.

A. SOME UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS

The present chapter deals with a number of issues and problems that affect the objectives and content of training curricula for senior managers in developing countries. It discusses some assumptions, policies and criteria that underlie and can make for more effective curricula. Specifically it raises several pertinent questions, in order to identify areas in which further collaboration and research can be developed. What, for example, are the development needs that training is meant to fulfil? What kind of development is meant? What kind of behaviour is expected in the performance of senior managers? And therefore what are the subject areas that are crucial for these purposes? What are the elements in the process of identification of training needs?

The urgency of social and economic development

It is assumed in this chapter that a key reason for management training for senior managers and administrators is to improve the performance of development programmes. An effective curriculum should equip public officials with appropriate updated skills, knowledge and attitudes to enable them to become effective and efficient managers of development in its various forms.

Development is a most urgent preoccupation of the third world, which includes the world's least developed and poorest countries. Some signs of lack of development are well known: poverty in gross national product per head; dependence on subsistence agriculture of the bulk of the population living in the rural areas; illiteracy or poor education among the mass of the people; prevalence of disease; short life expectancy and rapid population growth. Several ambitious programmes and strategies that aimed at arresting poverty are thought to have largely failed, resulting in a sense of disillusion in the developing countries concerned. They remain caught in a predicament: a persistent, systematic malfunctioning of their economies and administrative arrangements. In specific cases the future remains bleak with, for example, more food shortages and seemingly unrelenting rural poverty.

Disappointment with previous performance has stimulated the search for new ways and strategies to accelerate social and economic development as is manifest, for example, in the Lagos Plan of Action drawn up by African countries in 1980.¹ As shown in that plan stress is increasingly being put on people's participation in development and in their sense of freedom for maximum use of their energies.

Popular participation and total national involvement in the development process is also echoed in the "basic human needs" approach which is concerned with investing human and material resources in a carefully integrated manner so as to contribute to the vitality, diversity and basic institutional reform of developing societies. As Samuel Paul has put it,

"...it is increasingly evident that, like human or individual self-development, the main source of development strategies will have to be generated from within -- that is, from the creativity and innovation of local groups in need, as they strive for and redefine their central values to cope with nature and outside forces which impinge upon them.

"The profiles of development have to be drawn up from different vantage points -- economic, social, cultural, religious. The achievement of integrated socio-economic objectives should be based on a shared concept of national destiny reflected in the national goals and aspirations."²

The developmental problems which face developing countries are many and varied. On the one hand they have inadequate institutional infrastructures; their public enterprises sometimes are too big or too expensive to run, they have poorly developed educational institutions. In some cases they face recurrent political instability or other serious

-
1. Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa, adopted at the second extraordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Lagos on 28 and 29 April 1980 (A/S-11/14, annex1)
 2. Quoted from Samuel Paul's yet unpublished study on the management of public programmes in developing countries (1980)

social disruptions. On the other hand they have to provide for expanding economic and social needs, manage increasingly complex organizational systems, feed rapidly growing populations.

It is not only that the men and women assigned to top positions in the management of the public sector in developing countries are faced with debilitating economic and social situations like those described above; they are at the same time expected to comprehend, plan for and manage numerous and complex development challenges. It is acknowledged that neither management nor management training will, of itself, solve all or even many of the negative effects of lack of development. Nevertheless where management development is undertaken and management training is organized there is need to take account of the elements and challenges of development facing the managers to be trained and thus facilitate their contribution to development management.

The role of management training for development

Dag Hammarskjöld said in an address in 1956 that great economic programmes had been held back more by lack of men to direct them than by lack of capital and for lack of experience to undertake the many administrative tasks which they entailed. "Fundamentally," he emphasized, "man is the key to our problems, not money." Competent people, he went on, can "work miracles even with small resources and draw wealth out of a barren land."³ This kind of view provides the rationale and justification for training, in the belief that a properly constructed management training curriculum can provide an experience which meets personal needs, reduces dependency and releases potential for creativity and innovation. An innovator, in turn, sees a coherent world about him which he feels will respond dependably to his efforts to change it. It is believed, for example, that appropriate and effective management training generates the administrator's trust in himself and his experience. Effective management training has to reinforce the

3. Address to the International Law Association, Montreal, 30 May 1956

recognition that while there are external policy constraints operating on the public manager in developing countries, within his area of operations he is expected to act as an agent of change. Curricula for management training should therefore strive to identify and emphasize those factors which, if successfully learned, will reinforce the managers' performance.

The foregoing implies an act of faith about management training. However, the efficacy of management training has not been conclusively demonstrated in a scientific way. In fact there have been voices of disappointment about training which point out that though training opportunities have multiplied, the benefits have not. However, as long as one realizes what can and cannot be achieved by training and that training is therefore neither a panacea to the numerous development and organizational problems nor a waste of time, then one will give appropriate attention to acquiring more insight into what management training can and cannot do.

Management training is an integral part of administrative development which in turn is inseparable from national development strategy. For example, it is stated in India's Fifth Development Plan, 1978-1987, that, "in order to improve the administrative, technical and managerial capabilities of personnel engaged in the planning and implementation tasks, greater stress will be laid on management training", so as to introduce better managerial tools into the management of the public system and develop the right attitudes in its leadership personnel.⁴ And Malaysia's management training policy aims at "upgrading the capability of the civil servants in using modern management methods and decision-making tools, as well as at solving external problems through which the organization would have a greater understanding of the environment in its totality and the impact of implementation of public policies on the environment. In this way, officers would feel more committed to the task of national development

4. H.M. Mathur, which would enable them to play a more effective role in the management of change."⁵

With an increasing emphasis on planned development, development plans have become a major strategy of many developing countries. These plans are increasingly paying more attention to the need to improve the quality and quantity of human resources by appropriate training. The Indian civil service, for example, summarizes the objective of senior management training as:

- (a) Building a civil service attuned to move with the changing times;
- (b) Equipping the civil servants with management skills, scientific aids and leadership styles to enable them to perform their roles effectively;
- (c) Effecting attitudinal changes in the civil servants so that development of the poorer groups can be assured.

A recent review of several dozen curricula indicates that a considerable consensus exists among developing countries regarding the role of senior management training, stressing the policy that senior management training seeks to increase the administrator's capability to function effectively within the political, economic, social, legal, organizational and technological environment in which the public services operate.

In conclusion, it is now widely accepted and required that public officials should perform beyond the traditional orientation of administration and become development-oriented administrators and become development-oriented managers, and hence management training is regarded as a vital instrument for this purpose. The essence of development is not to maintain but to create effectively because development requires management in the sense of opportunity seeking and creative change

5. F. Ismail, "Training of Civil Servants in India", in A. Raksasataya and H. Siedentoph, eds., *Asian Civil Services Technical Papers, Vol.4, Training in the Civil Service* (Kuala Lumpur, Asian and Pacific Development Administration Centre, 1980), p.110.

orientation. Thus, it is further assumed that even if there are major external policy constraints operating on the public manager, and despite his being bounded by policy and decision-making powers that are created by political superiors and are largely beyond his immediate control, effective management training can strengthen his effectiveness all the same.

Trainers in public management, like those in other fields, are faced with several basic questions which can be put simply, as follows: What is the manager to learn and why? In what order and to what intensity should it be learned? What teaching/learning methods and resources will help him/her learn it best? How is to be known or tested that he/she has learned it?

B. POLICIES

Experience gained from a number of United Nations-sponsored technical co-operation activities indicates that the shortcomings in curricula designs sometimes arise from failures of management development policies to reflect the values and development objectives of the particular countries. In some cases, it has been observed that in substantive terms the design and content of management training programmes at times tend to encourage the status quo, instead of inspiring new attitudes and imparting appropriate knowledge and skills for managing development programmes.

A glimpse at the role of the public manager

The design of curricula for senior management training should be based on an understanding of the nature and complexity of public systems and on the dynamics and problems that predominate in a developing situation. Equally basic to curricula design are the diverse functions that have to be performed by public managers. One may therefore appropriately ask what are the unique or critical functions of senior administrators in the developing countries? As a hierarchy they form an easily distinguishable cadre at the administrative apex of a country and represent a crucial group among the decision-making elite. They spend

much of their time on policy in close relationship with political leaders, from whom they are sometimes said to undergo considerable pressure, owing to the turbulent character of their administrative environments. The rate of transition, departures, appointments and reappointments at senior management levels seems to be singularly intense in the developing countries, affecting specialists and generalists alike. This intensity masks the similarity of the main challenges which face them in their roles as senior managers.

Even if some senior managers may have started their careers as functional specialists - agricultural officers, surveyors, engineers - on reaching the top of the administrative ladder they have become increasingly less involved in exercising their original professional skills and more concerned with managing their subordinates, coordinating committees, advising on policy and making decisions of a political, financial and administrative nature. Their core concern is administration and management and they are therefore required to have and apply managerial capability in achieving the objectives of development programmes. Acquiring and strengthening administrative capability becomes a key challenge in their work and therefore a critical aspect of their management training. The effective manager must grasp the broad objectives and policies that underlie the organization for which he or she is responsible and know the environment, technology, techniques and systems that are applicable in that organization. The manager should be equipped to ask the right questions, analyze the situation and take effective decisions.

The manager's primary focus is on problem solving, which has to be done within a number of well established managerial functions that include the following, among others: environmental appraisal; planning and policy; technology and production; budgeting and financial control; organization and personnel; service delivery and logistics; and information systems.

The boundaries between these functions are not always clear-cut and overlaps abound. Indeed, important interfaces must necessarily exist between all these functions to ensure a systematic management process. For example, environmental appraisal flows into planning and policy and

vice versa. Budgeting and financial control is better reinforced by effective management information systems. Organization and personnel are influenced by the technology required for the production of the goods or services that the agency is established to provide. To exert the necessary leadership for the effective performance of these functions, the manager needs to possess appropriate knowledge, skills and attitudes.

C. CRITERIA

Experience in the developing countries reveals that in most cases there is no proper connection between training activities or policy (if it exists) and the over-all national development. Training, in many cases, is poorly organized and administered, possibly because of the lack of adequate and relevant policies. A clear problem is the lack of co-operation between training, manpower planning and over-all economic and social planning.

A meaningful national training policy should not only aim at encouraging training at all-levels but it should also ensure that funds are earmarked for it; that competent trainers are developed and made available; that proper and relevant training is undertaken; and that, at the level of top administrators, self-training is encouraged.

Problems of training needs identification and determination

The cornerstone for selecting criteria for curriculum design is the identification of training needs. The major objective of management development is to bridge the gap - quantitatively and qualitatively - between the required level and the actual level in administrative capacity. Although it is recurrently emphasized in training literature that training needs should be carefully established as a basis for formulating sound curricula, much of the advice given consists of general prescriptions. Few methods and concise techniques are given. Whereas, for example, curricula for senior management training should take into account relevant environmental factors, only a carefully organized analysis of training needs will help in determining the

specific subjects to teach and how to teach them. Even the training institutions themselves have not shown great expertise in developing systematic plans for the identification of training needs. What frequently happens is that trainees are simply "fitted" into predetermined programmes, especially since the programmes of those institutions are often conceived and organized with a mixed clientele in mind.

Curricula should be drawn up after a careful survey, analysis and harmonization of national, organizational and individual training needs. This is not always done. In fact training programmes often arise from uncoordinated sources. Sometimes their origin is traceable to some ad hoc pressure to improve performance in a specific field, such as project management or policy analysis and implementation, or it may simply be a decision that more management training is necessary. A syllabus is then quickly designed: with some luck it may be reviewed by a few training specialists, otherwise a training institute or consultant takes over the programme and the course or courses begin.

Again, one often comes across formulations in brochures for senior management training from different countries which read virtually the same, even though the particular countries may differ widely in their environments and detailed management training needs. For example, the following appeal for participants is relatively common in training brochures:

- (a) Administrators in their mid-careers are welcome and will find the course very useful as preparation for the future involving general management responsibilities. Younger executives may also be accepted if their experience and the level of responsibility are exceptional.

Or the following kind of formulation of course objectives:

- (b) To inform participants about recent developments in management and administrative principles, approaches and leadership in order to improve their knowledge. To provide participants with a general understanding of the processes, strategies and

instruments of policy making. To improve participants' understanding of interpersonal skills.

Or still another kind of objective formulation:

- (c) To develop skills in performing management functions. To develop management and leadership skills. To create and implement action plans directed towards improving performance within participants' organization.

Formulation (a) has an advertisement-type focus and seems to be needs-oriented only in a very general way. Objective formulation (b) sounds motivated more by general interest than by specific actions or results. Formulation (c) sounds motivated more by action and performance requirements. In other words formulation (d) would seem to be the most illustrative of a directed and analytically based effort to identify training needs.

Determining training needs for
the organization as a whole

Although relatively straight forward in theory, the process of determining training needs is very elusive in practice. The standard approach is that the needs of the department should be analyzed and set out in an order of priority. The analysis should involve ascertaining the departmental objectives and activities in relation to the knowledge and skills required to the staff for the proper work performance and the standard or quality of accomplishment necessary. In other words, given that a key performance criterion is the effective execution of development programmes, it is necessary to focus on development-oriented knowledge, skills and attitudes required in determining the appropriate curricula for group training.

Determining training needs at the
individual senior manager level

Although virtually every management trainer acknowledges the importance of training needs determination and will attempt a training needs assessment of some kind in the course of planning a curriculum,

many trainers rarely go through the details that a rigorous needs determination process entails. Once the needs of the department have been analyzed in terms of national goals to produce the optimal departmental performance profile, the latter should then be correlated with individual staff capability. This implies the assessment of individuals, one by one, against the requirements of their respective jobs. It is assumed that this kind of correlation will reveal gaps that can represent individual training needs. By aggregating individual training need obtained in this way it is again possible to develop a profile of group training needs. It should, however, be recognized that an aggregation of individual training needs may not necessarily coincide with the total needs. In some respects the individual needs may run counter and should be subordinated to the macro or greater need. It should be recognized that not all individuals can be developed to suit or match the tasks required to accomplish development programmes.

Recent studies carried out by the Development Administration Division in several agencies in Africa and Asia suggest that there is no common approach followed by management training in aggregating the training needs of individual senior managers to determine the needs of groups of them. On the contrary, the derivation of group needs from individual needs profiles is virtually non-existent. Attempts to undertake individual needs analysis were quickly abandoned in several places where these had been made. The reason for not directly connected with a career development programme - a management function which has been found to be extensively neglected by many public agencies in developing countries. On the other hand, it was found that several countries tried to overcome the difficulty by establishing committees or commissions to ascertain training needs. In other cases, training establishment have claimed that their professional trainers were always encouraged to keep abreast of emerging managerial and administrative problems facing individual senior administrators and generally to keep their ears to the ground in order to sense issues and problems that could be alleviated by management and administrative training of the senior officials. This message, which implies and encourages perpetual vigilance, must, to be effective, be carried further into analytical training needs identification programmes. Training should be linked

with career development, and the type or dose of managerial training required may differ as to the extent of responsibility demanded to perform certain top administrative jobs. The specialist whose job remains substantively technical may need fewer managerial training inputs than the specialist who moves completely into the administrative cadre; but it is to be recognized that all administrators once they reach senior positions, need managerial training. In this regard, it is recommended that senior administrators should be offered all possible motivation or incentives to accept the responsibility to learn.

The ultimate purpose of working out a realistic analysis of training needs is to facilitate evaluation of training objectives and curricula and their implementation. An effective needs analysis must attempt to integrate organizational and individual needs. It provides a picture of what the organization expects of a particular senior manager and of the skills and knowledge necessary for acceptable performance. There must ultimately be a matching of these requirements with the manager actual performance to arrive at the individual and group needs profile to assure the development of sound curricula.

THE EVALUATION OF FELLOWSHIPS
AND TRAINING PROGRAMMES

BY
JAKE JACOBS

FROM WORKSHOP ON METHODOLOGY AND TECHNIQUES FOR THE EVALUATION OF
FELLOWSHIPS AND TRAINING PROGRAMME, PARIS, UNESCO HEADQUARTERS, 24-28
NOVEMBER 1980. THE VIEWS EXPRESSED IN THIS PAPER ARE THOSE OF THE
AUTHOR.

INTRODUCTION

This paper is concerned with the evaluation of training. It is primarily concerned with the training of the nationals of developing countries, the vast majority of which takes place in their home country. It recognizes overseas fellowships as but one vehicle for training. Because of the importance attached to overseas training (some would say a disproportionate importance which militates against the interests of training institutions at home), attention is drawn in the paper to some of the problems peculiar to the evaluation of overseas training programmes. Some possible solutions are indicated.

Training is often one of the first casualties of economic recession if only on the grounds that staff vacancies tend not to be filled and the numbers decrease of people available for training away from their desk.¹ Yet paradoxically, the evaluation of training does not lessen in the same way. Indeed, increased evaluation will often be seen as a desirable response to budgetary stringency on the grounds that tighter evaluation means increased efficiency. In the context of training, this argument is of doubtful validity.

"Evaluation" became an academically respectable exercise long after training itself was recognized as a legitimate field of operation often seen as a process justifiable in its own right. It should not be permitted to become the exclusive prerogative of "experts" (of whom the author of this paper is one), at the cost of conveniently relieving teachers (of whom the author of this paper is also one!) of any responsibility for judging the outcomes of their own labours. Yet this is precisely what is happening. EVALUATION has become the newest acceptable bandwagon in Academe. It is now referred to in the booklists of highly respectable publishers as "the new multidisciplinary research field". An "Evaluation Studies Review Annual" has already appeared on the scene.

1. Cf. the comment of H.M. Mathur, "In fact training continues to be high on the list of subjects on which economy cutbacks can be applied routinely". Training for Senior Administrators of Agricultural Development, FAO report on Manila Conference, September 1979.

No one should be permitted to become whole time evaluator. The workshop may wish to take into consideration this comment if it decides to discuss the merits of a central evaluation unit. The acceptance of the concept of evaluation presupposes an acceptance of the need to be critical - even self-critical. Every teacher should be interested in the outcomes of the courses to which he contributes. His is the first responsibility to examine those outcomes and to compare them with the anticipated outcomes. In short, evaluation is but one part of the training process and must compete at the same level as the other parts for the limited resources available. Evaluation does not merit priority over those other operations of preparation and teaching. The tail (evaluation) must not be allowed to wag the dog (training).

This is NOT to say that evaluation is a process that only takes place after the training has finished. Its timing will be referred to below under the rubric of Evaluation Model (paragraph 17 et seq.).

EVALUATION FOR WHOM?

In the context of the evaluation of training, a number of parties can be identified as having a legitimate interest. To enable these parties to be identified logically we need to be sure of the training objectives. Indeed this might form a useful take-off point for the workshop - the first topic of discussion spelt out in paragraph 14 of the Unesco Secretariat background paper for this meeting.

To what extent is an identification of training objectives necessary for effective training? Is it enough to define the objectives of, say, a National Institute of Public Administration as being to produce x diplomats per annum in Public Administration? Should objectives be qualitative as well as quantitative? Should they be broken down into subjects taught, desirable geographical origins of students and so on? Institute of Public Administration - to continue to use the same example - need to respond urgently to expressed needs for previously unforeseen training programmes. The objectives of such programmes cannot, by their very nature, be formulated at any annual or biennial definition of objectives. Yet one measure of such an Institute's effectiveness is the readiness with which it can respond to

such demands. A clear statement of objectives is most likely to be achieved if it follows a dialogue involving all the interested parties.

Who are these interested parties? They do not necessarily share a common interest in the outcomes of a given training programme. First, and foremost I would suggest, is the client. But who is the client in such a case? The student/trainee or his employer, who in most cases will be the government department or the Public Service Commission? I suggest that it is the latter who is the most important. A second interested party is of course the training institution itself - in this case the Institute of Public Administration. A third interested party is the student or students nominated to the course. Clearly, in reality, they cannot be involved in a discussion of course objectives before the course has evolved and before they have been nominated to attend it. But they CAN be involved at the outset of the course when the objectives should be explained to them as an integral part of the evaluation exercise. Moreover, ideally no course should be so inflexible as not to be able to take account of and respond to student reaction and criticism during the course itself. This is NOT to say that students determine what is taught. But they have, if not a right to be involved, at least an interest in the decisions affecting the content of the course. Most important of all, a dialogue between teacher and taught can prove to be an invaluable vehicle for evaluation. Indeed, as I have suggested, such a dialogue is an intrinsic part of the evaluation process. In those cases where the training occurs as the result of the intervention of an aid donor, it can be argued that the aid donor also becomes a party interested in the training programme and its outcome.

A CLASSIFICATION OF EVALUATION

All four parties identified in the preceding section can be said to have an interest in the evaluation of training courses with which they are concerned. The interest which each of these parties has in the outcome of the training is not identical. However all these interests can be said to fall under two major headings. The first of these is VALIDATION. This is the process of assessing the evidence available by

the end of the programme, of success or failure in the achievement of its objectives. As we have seen, such objectives are often inadequately defined and some are only implied. Validation then becomes much more complicated by the attempts necessary to determine such implied objectives, especially where differing interpretations may be rendered by staff, students and institutions involved.

The second major heading is that of LONG-TERM EVALUATION. This is a much more extensive follow-up type of evaluation study which includes evidence of short - and long-term outcomes for the participants and their employing organizations. This long-term evaluation is concerned with the measurement of the total value of a training programme in social as well as financial terms. For that reason it is altogether more difficult than the validation approach.

It is not then surprising that we find a tendency to lay undue stress on internal evaluation studies of programmes focused on the satisfaction of programme-centred criteria and the self-justification of the teaching institution and its staff. Undoubtedly such attempts at programme validation form an essential component in total evaluation, but they are primarily centred on the programme objectives and how and if they are achieved. It needs to be recognized that institutional and programme bias will influence judgements. As part of this practice of validation, attempts have been made to elicit the views of participants on the achievement of their needs. Frequently needs have been confused with wants. We must recognize that the personal wants of the student/trainee may not coincide and may even conflict with those of his employer rather than the trainee who should be identified as the true consumer of the training programme. Yet it is surprising how the reports of National Commissions for Unesco concerned with the evaluation of Unesco fellowships have consistently, and usually exclusively, concentrated on the effects of the fellowship awards on the INDIVIDUAL rather than on him employing, national government. Similarly, that part of Unesco's own fellowship final report which is concerned with evaluation, only asks questions about the STUDENT's satisfaction with the course and its relevance to HIS job.

The TOTAL evaluation process then, seeks to find answers to the following questions:

- (a) What evidence exists that the programme objectives - defined or implied - have been achieved?
- (b) Which of the established needs of the participants have been met?
- (c) What impact has the programme had on the performance of ex-participants in their work?
- (d) What impact has the programme had on the subsequent careers of the ex-participants?
- (e) What evidence exists over the long term to demonstrate the direct or indirect effects of the programme on employing organizations and national development?

In paragraph 16 of the Unesco Secretariat Background Paper it is suggested that an analysis of the outcomes of training for the different parties involved might comprise part of the workshop's agenda.

Clearly not all the five questions enumerated above can be answered effectively at the completion of the programme. It follows that evaluation ought to be a continuing activity whose significant results may only become available some time after the course has finished. Often, no clear evidence of long-term impacts may emerge because of contaminating factors which impede or prevent the identification of a pure programme effect. These contaminants can occur in the work or organizational environment and include the attitudes of senior managerial staff towards training. We must all have had experience of the effects of a training course having been negated by the non-cooperation of the senior officer of the returned course participant. "Obstacles encountered in evaluating training" is identified in paragraph 19 of the Unesco Secretariat Background Paper as a possible discussion topic for the Workshop.

Each evaluation study should identify at the outset its own focus of emphasis so that the need for, and relevance of inputs from various

sources can be identified and predicted. To illustrate, it would be inadequate to rely exclusively on answers to questions addressed to programme participants when trying to assess a staff member's competence as a teacher. Similarly, it could prove misleading for a rich country teaching institution to depend solely on the views of its students from developing countries when assessing the relevance of its programmes. No evaluation exercise can be all things to all men.

SUCCESS INDICATORS OF TRAINING PROGRAMMES

One reason for stressing the importance of identifying training objectives is that the clearer the definition of objectives the easier it is to establish in an evaluation exercise whether or not those objectives have been realized. Unesco has recognized the truth of this statement particularly vis-a-vis the evaluation of its fellowships. Yet a paper on Unesco's Internal Evaluation System² accepts the premise that "an evaluation (requiring) an examination of the extent to which Unesco's actions have contributed to the actual achievement of the impacts at the level of Member States.... is most difficult and perhaps.... impossible" (p.4). But this is precisely the part of the evaluation exercise which is of critical importance. The same paper talks of "an almost universal tendency to disregard evaluation recommendations" (p.6). This is merely to restate that there are always people in senior policy-making positions who have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo ante. Success indicators of training programmes will vary not only in relation to the training objectives but also according to which of the interested parties identified in paragraph 8 above is seeking to evaluate the programme. The success indicator of the Director of our Institute of Public Administration (see paragraph 7 above) may be the proportion of the x diplomats aimed for. For the departments which nominated its officials to attend the course the success indicator will be something quite different - perhaps the improved effectiveness of the official on his return from the course. But this is where contaminants complicate our judgements. Can the departmental head be confident that the official's improved performance

2. SS-79/CONF.701/7, October 1979.

is due to the course and not, in part at least, to some other quite extraneous factor? It is to be hoped that the Workshop will find some time to examine this question of success indicators of training. It may be no less interested to discuss success indicators of evaluation itself. It may not wish to embark on an evaluation of evaluation but it could profitably discuss the optimal conditions for effective evaluation of training programmes.

If we could be sure that the writer quoted above is correct in his perception of a universal tendency to disregard evaluation recommendations, then evaluation becomes a sterile activity for managers although it may still be a stimulating pursuit for academics. The thought is a sobering one when it is recalled that evaluation is often done only on the premise that it will prove to be favourable. On the other hand, evaluation for its own sake is NOT recommended. Indeed that is one argument against the proposition that all projects and programmes, including training programmes, should have a fixed percentage of its budgets devoted to evaluation. Moreover experience has shown that such budgetary evaluation provision tends to be vired and used for other purposes.³

A POSSIBLE EVALUATION MODEL FOR A TRAINING INSTITUTION

For the sake of example it is proposed to outline one simple possible model whereby a training institution might ascertain the extent to which it is achieving the objectives it has set out for itself in any particular programme. This has been defined above as programme validation. As a possible model it is limited to processes which can be taken on the spot before the departure of the participants, by those persons concerned with the administration and teaching of courses. The proposals form only part of the whole evaluation process and are additional to the steps indicated later, described under the heading of "Post course evaluation" and "Evaluation in the work environment".

3. For a criticism of the fixed percentage budgetary item for evaluation, see N.E. McIntosh "Evaluation and Research Aids to Decision Making and Innovation", OECD 3rd General Conference, Paris 1979.

In developing this model, it is intended to aim at simplicity so as to make it capable of achievement by any teaching institution with the will to examine the extent to which its achievements match up to its declared aims. Its very simplicity imposes its own limitations and no attempt is made to conceal them. Nevertheless as a first essay, the model is considered to be likely to justify the resources it requires. It needs to be integrated with the training programme ab initio. Too frequently evaluation is only considered as the course is drawing to a close. It is then too late. Who validates?

The intention is to involve as many as is practicable of the actors concerned with the programme to be validated. Clearly the exercise will be self-defeating if too many people are involved. Moreover we need to recognize the inherent dangers of validators being judges in their own cause. Amongst those whom we might expect to have a viable validation role are:

1. The programme director and those members of his staff contributing to the programme.
2. Other contributors.
3. The participants or students.

There are also arguments suggestive of the value of two other actors. These are (a) the Head of the Institution where the programme is offered or a committee appointed by him, and (b) an outside evaluator or interpreter of the data thrown up by the validation exercise.

Timing

Evaluation, even of the limited variety spelled out here, is not something which only happens at the end of the course. We need to make certain judgements and observations at the beginning of the course. We need to invite responses from students throughout the course. In addition, certain interim judgements can be made at the end of each course component. Finally there needs to be an end-of-course report which may be subjected to an overall review as suggested in the preceding paragraph. In short the process of evaluation, to be

effective, needs to be a continuing one lasting throughout and beyond the course being evaluated.

Beginning of the course

We would expect to record on admission, information on each student concerning his/her present qualifications, what he thinks the course is about, what he expects to derive from the course and how that is likely to relate to his career needs. Immediately prior to this, the programme director and contributors should present to the course a statement of the objectives and contents of the course and its constituent parts which will have been prepared in advance and this should be available to the students when they are recording their own aspirations. Ideally - though registration time is just the moment when pressures may preclude it - this information should be exchanged at the end of a briefing session introducing them to the course. Decisions will have to be taken at this stage - and even more importantly at subsequent stages - on whether students should retain anonymity in these validation and evaluation processes.

Students responses throughout

Students should be presented with a formal opportunity at the end of each discrete section or component of the course to comment constructively to the appropriate lecturer on the way it has been handled and the extent to which it has achieved its stated objectives (see below). This can be done as a group in class. To be it individually or in writing is likely to be too time consuming.

At the end of the course a more structured session is desirable, involving all students and concerned lecturers. Ideally, all lecturers should be brought into the exercise but it is appreciated that outside lecturers may not be available. There are a number of ways in which this session might be structured. One device which has been used successfully is to precede the plenary session held with students and teachers, by meetings of small groups of students in the absence of teaching staff. These groups might all be asked to comment under all the headings listed below under "Programme Director's Evaluation

Responsibilities". Alternatively the headings could be divided amongst the syndicates. In either event the list must not be considered to be exclusive. In the ensuing plenary session a rapporteur from each syndicate could report the comments and suggestions made. What is essential is that these sessions should be built into the programme from the outset. Timing is very important. If the course is one which is climaxed by an examination it may be best to defer the final evaluation session until after the results have been publicized. It should not be seen as a last minute responses to be attended, or not, as an optional offering. Associated with this end-of-course session though not necessarily for completion during the session) might be a questionnaire drawn up in advance by the programme director in consultation with his subordinate course lecturers. In the event such questionnaires would need to be tailored to meet the needs and circumstances of each course being validated.

Staff responses throughout

It follows from what has been said under the foregoing heading, that staff will need to have recorded and imparted the objectives of their contributions to the course. It ought to be possible to assume that the course director will have obtained, long before the commencement of the programme, an outline of what it is proposed to teach. At the end of each contributor's input he should record, however briefly, any noteworthy points concerning teaching methods and materials, problems of administration overall comments in addition to the usual student report forms. All this should be available to the programme director though not necessarily passed to him automatically (which could prove nothing more than an embarrassment). The information is likely to be referred to during the end of course session mentioned above.

Programme director's evaluation responsibilities

It is unlikely that the programme director would think it necessary or even desirable to participate in the mid-course mini-evaluations of the component sections of the course. He might however think it necessary to be informed of their outcome. However, he clearly does

have an important role in the structured end-of-course session, in the preparation of the questionnaire (see above) and in its interpretation. It would be anticipated that his report might cover additional topics not otherwise referred to such as recruitment arrangements. Moreover, he probably has a statutory obligation to report to one of his institutional bodies. In some institutions the headings might be prescribed.

Uniformity can make comparison easier. A possible list of headings might be:

- Recruitment
- Academic, including teaching methods and content
- Library
- Outside visits (if applicable)
- Administration
- Social/domestic
- Finance
- Building, accommodation and equipment
- Evaluation, new ideas and recommendations
- Follow-up.

Action after the course

I have already suggested that it might be valuable to have an outside evaluator or interpreter of the data resulting from the validation exercise up to the time of the students' departure. Whether or not such a person can be found, certain steps need to be taken to transmit into action the conclusions to be drawn from the information obtained during the course. If, as will commonly be the case, no such outsider is available, then this responsibility will probably fall to the Institute Director or some person or a group of persons appointed by him or statutorily appointed in some other fashion. Whoever it may be must have access to the conclusions of those groups which have met for evaluation purposes during and at the end of the course. Ideally the evaluator/interpreter should be able to study his material before the departure of the students so that any question prompted by a reading of the reports can be posed to the students. In the end what is important

is to decide what changes are needed to the objectives, content and delivery of future courses. A simpler way to achieve this may be for the course director and staff to get together after the end of course session to decide what action may be necessary.

LONG TERM EVALUATION: FOLLOW-UP RESEARCH

In the "Validation model" just described, the assumption is made that the teaching institution is the body carrying out the evaluation which is seen as being primarily for its own benefit. In this longer term model the assumption is made that it is primarily carried out for the benefit of the employer of the student - that is to say - in the context of this paper, the developing country government. It could be carried out by the teaching institution, whether at home or overseas, by some agency of the developing country government responsible for nominating the student for the course or fellowship or by an independent consultant.

Before commenting on follow-up activity, it may be helpful to distinguish between education and training programmes which offer a professionally recognized degree, diploma or certificate, and those, usually shorter programmes, which do not. I have already indicated that, although this paper is concerned primarily with courses in developing countries, I have felt free to comment on other courses. In general, it is noticeable that a degree, diploma or certificate from a rich country institution with an internationally recognized reputation will usually be preferred by nominating organizations in poor countries, even though it is acknowledged that less prestigious institutions elsewhere have programmes and courses more likely to be concerned with the needs of and conditions in developing countries. Experience based on interviews conducted in aid development countries, indicates a strong feeling amongst aid recipients that offers of training and education tenable only in other developing countries constitute an unacceptable second class form of technical assistance. This attitude is expressed with even greater conviction by the would be students themselves. A

realization of this fact is reflected in the reluctance of many major donors to encourage more "Third Country Training".⁴

The nomination stage

When and where can evaluation best be carried out? The shortcomings of evaluation restricted to questionnaires completed at the end of a course are commented on below (v. para 35). The evaluation process should surely involve as the consumer both the former student and his nominating organization, which may also be his employer. The latter's criterion might be how the education or training will contribute towards job performance or the country's economic and social development. As an example of the evaluator's difficulties the literature on the meaning of "development" is considerable. The evaluation process considers not merely the learning process and its outcome, but the processes whereby a person is selected for training and bursaries is a form of patronage. Donor agencies and educational and training institutions have at best only a negative control over the distribution of that patronage. They can reject a nominee but can have no say in proposing the nomination. Where the patronage is not exercised in a wholly partisan fashion, they may be able to play a marginal role in determining guidelines for selection. Optimally, they may even be involved directly in the selections process, even if only to be represented on a selection panel. Even then, it will be noted, the selection is from a group already predetermined by others. The Workshop may wish to examine whether this element of patronage is present for ALL training programmes - and if not, why not.

Nevertheless, it should be recognized that training is likely to be more cost effective and therefore evaluation more positive if donor and/or training agencies are able to have a role in the selection process, collaborating with the nominating agency. Donors have commented in the past on the short-comings of the machinery intended to

4. Third Country Training refers to training for the nationals of a developing country. A, paid for by the aid donor country; B, which takes place in a third country; C, usually another developing country.

facilitate the match between trainees or learning more effective needs to take into account these recruitment shortcomings. It seems rarely to be possible for the teaching institution to interview the would-be student before he is accepted although we suggest that more could be done to this end.

In-course evaluation

The next stage after recruitment when evaluation needs to be in operation is during the courses themselves. There are of course dangers implicit in teaching institutions being their own judges and there may be a role for members of developing country organizations as external assessors for rich country institutions in the same way that developing country institutions have external examiners from rich countries. There are other less formal ways in which the views of outsiders may be involved in the evaluatory process. Many of the rich country institutions have visitors or visiting fellows from overseas temporarily working with them either as members of faculty or engaged in their own research. Some of these people will be prepared to play an evaluatory role, either individually or in collaboration with others more institutionally involved.

Post course evaluation

There remains the question of how the evaluatory process can be activated after the course has ended and the student returned home. There are a number of ways in which this can be achieved. First, the questionnaire.

Use of questionnaires

Reference has already been made in this paper to the use and limitations of questionnaires. The adequacy is doubted of any evaluation confined to the completion of questionnaires - however imaginatively prepared - at the end of a course. However where courses are due to be repeated - as in the majority of cases - repeated adverse criticism of any one element can serve as a warning that further examination and testing of that element may be necessary. This is most

likely to happen in the context of courses offering a degree, diploma or certificate. In general, however, it seems to be accepted that the examination process itself constitutes some evaluation of award courses. If apparently able students do well in general but badly in one course component, this should be taken as a warning that something may be amiss, not with the student but with the course. As Unesco's experience makes clear, the response to questionnaires will always be disappointing when the persons to whom they are addressed do not constitute a captive audience.

Questionnaires can be used by all institutions ready and able to invest the necessary resources in devising, dispatching and analysing the responses. One crucial decision to be taken concerns the lapse of time between completion of the course and completion of the questionnaire. Assuming that one purpose of the questionnaire is to try to assess the effect of the course on the participant's career, it is desirable that the questionnaire should not after the course that the participant is unable to relate the course to his subsequent career - or even recall anything about the course! Experience shows that the span of one to five years after the course, has been fruitful in obtaining useful responses. This paper has already considered the form and content of questionnaires for completion during a course. All that needs to be said here is that the motivation to complete the forms conscientiously at the end of the course will have been eroded or at least changed some years latter. From experience drawn upon here the response rate does not, surprisingly, seem to have varied inversely with the lapse of time between completion of course and questionnaire - despite the fact that people can quickly become untraceable once they have changed addresses or even departments. Nevertheless, the design of the form is of greater importance if it is to be completed by the former student a year or more after the course, than if it is to be completed at the teaching institution at the end of the course. A designed blend of multiple choice and open-ended questions has proved to be an acceptable combination capable of evoking a worthwhile response rate. The size of the questionnaire and the number of questions asked can be critical in determining the response. It would not appear to be productive to circulate a questionnaire of 84 questions to ex-students

or one of 52 questions to their teachers, as proposed by one international organization. However, the need for tailormade inquiries as indicated earlier is stressed. The Workshop may wish to pursue the proposal made in paragraph 18 of the Unesco Secretariat Background Paper that these questions of periodicity be discussed.

Evaluation in the work environment

There remains for discussion the opportunities for evaluation presented by visits to former students in their work environment by members of the institutes' teaching staff. One purpose of this note is to share some of the lessons learned from some of those essays in evaluation. On the whole, there has been so far little exchange of such information. What follows represents some lessons learned at first hand. It is to be hoped that it will prompt others in the field to share their own experience. From the sum of these lessons, it should then prove possible later to prepare a check list designed to maximize the effectiveness of course follow-up visits.

Possible check-list for evaluators

Interviewers will need to have prepared a check-list of questions. One purpose will be to make it easier to compare responses. The check-list might include the following questions:

1. By what processes was the former student nominated? Was he briefed beforehand? By whom?
2. How was his particular course decided upon?
3. What were his expectations of the course?
4. What were his expectations of the outcome of the course?
5. What were the expectations of the outcome of the course?
6. To what extent were (3), (4) and (5) realized?
7. What impact, if any, has the course had on the development of the student's country?

8. Has any particular group benefited from the course?
9. Can any explicit examples be quoted of the effective use to which the student has been able to put any designated knowledge or skills acquired during the course?
10. What opportunities have been taken to pass on such knowledge to others? Was the student debriefed on his return from the course? By whom?

SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF EVALUATION OF COURSES HELD IN RICH COUNTRIES FOR NATIONALS FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Most students from developing countries studying in rich countries are reading for a degree, diploma or certificate designed for the nationals of the host country. For these students, it is unlikely that arrangements or concessions will be provided to make their studies in any way specially relevant to the needs of the developing country student or his country. Indeed, such a move would be strongly resisted in some rich country institutions. There are some courses which may offer an optional or minor subject relevant to the interests of a developing country, and research students from developing countries are likely to be concerned with problems related to their home situation. However, in most rich countries the courses offered pay little or no regard to the background of the students. The creation, content and termination of courses are conditioned by the current "map" of the discipline and the individual interests of the departmental faculty members. It follows that those responsible for rich country university and polytechnic courses may consider it unreasonable to devote any resources to the evaluation of those courses as particular vehicles for developing country students. Nevertheless, rich country institutions ought to consider the possibility of involving developing country student sources in their evaluation processes.

There are special difficulties inherent in the evaluation of courses or programmes designed explicitly for developing country students in rich countries. Where these programmes tend to be short, say from four weeks to four months, their unit cost is higher than that

of the longer award courses. They will sometimes be "one of a kind" programmes so that evaluation will be less likely to be directed at identifying ways of improving a course to be repeated. Further, because by definition the vast majority of the students come from overseas, problems of follow-up study are less concerned with analysis and solution of problem areas bearing on policy making. It is worth considering ways of mitigating these difficulties by identifying and overcoming some of the problems of evaluation in these circumstances.

First, it is essential to identify a local person - an institution is not sufficient - willing and qualified to play the role of agency or convenor. This might be the appropriate Embassy official carrying out these duties. Not all are willing, able or suitably qualified to play this role. Institution staff are concerned optimally in contacting all their former students, not merely those financed under technical co-operation auspices. Even if an Embassy official is not seen to be the person best suited to be the local agent, the Embassy must be informed of the evaluation proposals. There is some variation in what is considered to be reasonable notice of planned visits. The existence of a strong and sympathetic contact between the rich country institution staff member and a local person is not of itself sufficient to justify the assumption that this will be more effective for the purposes of evaluation than utilizing the services of the Embassy. Much will depend on the major source of recruitment. If this is from the public service, a senior public official in a powerful ministry is likely to be more effective than a senior academic or the Embassy representative. There are a number of obstacles undoubtedly, yet too many members of rich country institutions travel to countries with recruitment potential unprepared or unwilling to devote time to interviewing would-be students, or, perhaps no less important, those responsible for nominating them. One likely outcome of such a step would be to encourage nominating agencies to be more timely in submitting names and CVs.

There are understandable and acute sensitivities in some countries concerning direct approaches to their officials by overseas

institutions.⁵ Obviously they must be respected. In such cases, the Embassy representative may in the event be the only person available to act in the developing country on behalf of the rich country institution.

Through the channels considered most appropriate to the circumstances, former students need to be given adequate notice of the proposed visit. The person identified as the local representative will be asked where necessary, to trace present whereabouts. Ideally, by the time the rich country institution representative arrives, all former students will know of the visit and have been given a rendezvous. It may be considered desirable first to have a meeting with all of them - perhaps a mainly social occasion (ensuring that cost is not a prohibiting factor) when the background and purpose of the visit could be explained in the presence of ALL interested parties. Thereafter, and most difficult (for logistic reasons), it is desirable to arrange individual interviews. It is for careful consideration whether or not the Embassy, employers and nominating agencies of the former students should be present at and participate in these individual interviews. There can be no rule of general application. Some aid donor Embassy offices already arrange to interview all returning students. What is certain is that individual interviews are extremely time-consuming and exhausting for the interviewers, but they will often serve the incidental purpose of impressing employers and others that the institution is trying hard to respond to local needs. Additionally it is worth mentioning that some persons concerned with interviewing, on their home ground, persons returning from study or training courses overseas have found it useful to interview separately peers of the interviewees who have not undergone training or study experience overseas. Whilst there are clearly limitations to the conclusions drawn, nevertheless the establishment of what is, in effect, a control group has proved to be of some usefulness.

But those interviewed can with advantage be encouraged to develop themes of their own which may serve as pointers to that most difficult

5. This is a further reason why this paper advocates that developing countries should do more to evaluate the training of their own nationals wherever it takes place.

of problems, "How can rich country institutions be more helpful in the design and content of the programmes they offer?"

That critical question is asked far too infrequently. Even it is asked, the responses tend to be less than helpful. In part this is due to the fear that programmes specially geared to the defined needs of developing countries may turn out to be in some undefined manner inferior to programmes designed primarily for rich countries and therefore the product would be disadvantaged in the international market. This attitude is particularly prevalent in the choice of certificate, diploma and degree courses. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that one question posed at a recent Dar-es-Salaam seminar was, "What changes should be made in the universities of developed countries to ensure that foreign students be optimally trained and motivated?". One outcome of present trends is to increase the cultural dependence aspects of training and educating developing country nationals in rich countries. As part of the process of evaluation, a dialogue should be encouraged between rich country institutions and nominating and employing organizations in developing countries. The writer's experience has been that such a dialogue is more likely to be achieved through personal contact than by correspondence. Opportunities also exist - though they are frequently not taken - for such dialogues in rich countries, when appropriate people from developing countries are visiting. It may be presumptuous even to consider whether the outcomes of rich country based programmes have made any impact on the development of the student's own country. It will certainly be difficult to identify evidence of any causative links because of the presence of other post-programme influences. Nevertheless, it is considered that some rich country institutions which have taken it upon themselves to offer courses and programmes largely or primarily designed for developing country clientele will feel obliged to pose this and related questions though they may need to be training and fellowships. The Workshop may wish to examine this proposition in relation to the topic of appropriate evaluation methods proposed in the Unesco Secretariat Background Paper at page 9.

CONCLUSION

Evaluation systems evolved by outside institutions are unlikely to be workable, even if adopted, in a foreign environment. The purpose of a workshop of this nature is to afford its participants opportunities to examine the experience of others AS A MEANS OF HELPING THEM TO FORMULATE EVALUATION PROGRAMMES SUITABLE TO THEIR OWN NEEDS AND ENVIRONMENT. If this Workshop does not help you to take at least one step along this road, it will, in the opinion of the author of this paper, have failed to justify the not inconsiderable resources invested in it. And the most important of those resources is the time of the participants - an opportunity cost whose burden will only be recognized when you return to your overladen desks.

REVIVE LOCAL INSTITUTIONS TO ENSURE PARTICIPATION

BY

P.R. DUBHASHI

FROM KURUKSHETRA, OCTOBER 1, 1982.

From the very inception of the rural development programmes introduced in the country after the attainment of Independence, great importance was attached to people's participation in these programmes. Indeed, the community development programme introduced in the year 1952, went to the extent of announcing that the goal was to develop the programme from the stage of people's participation in government programmes to that of governmental participation in the people's programmes. The very concept of community development was based on the idea of people's participation. Community development meant that the community itself must be able to identify its felt needs and work out programmes and projects through which it could meet its felt needs. The community should be able to evolve its own mechanism and techniques of development.

In actual fact, however, the concept of people's participation had a much more limited connotation. In the early years of community development, the emphasis was on construction of school buildings, dispensaries, panchayat-ghars, open drainage, approach roads etc. and the concept of people's participation in relation to these brick and mortar programmes took the form of "Shramdan". "Shramdan" meant that in the execution of the programmes, people would contribute their share by way of physical labour and supply of local materials and provision of services like carting etc. In the rural areas, Monday is treated as a holiday and so people's participation was in the shape of Monday labour provided by the members of the local community on the local projects. The concept of Shramdan was also used to revive certain old traditions and practices. Thus, the late Shri V.T. Krishnamachari, the first Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, used to lay great emphasis on 'Kudimaramat' that is the traditional obligation of the villagers to maintain old tanks and irrigation works by regular contribution.

Though the concept of Shramdan as a method of people's participation in community projects evoked great degree of enthusiasm in the initial years and provided many examples of the upsurge of popular enthusiasm and participation, soon the

'Indeed the community development introduced in the year 1952, went to the extent of announcing that the goal was to develop the programme from the stage of people's participation in governmental programmes to that of governmental participation in the people's programmes.'

Initial enthusiasm gave way to scepticism, and even cynicism, when it was discovered that the application of the concept of Shramdan led to two abuses. First, the people who were called upon to contribute their labour were the very ones who had nothing but their labour to offer! To expect them alone to contribute their labour amounted to nothing but begar or forced labour. To expect them to give free labour was to ask them to work on empty stomach. Shramdan, therefore, degenerated into exploitation of the weaker sections. Secondly, even a worse abuse of the concept of Shramdan had crept in when in order to accommodate people's participation, the work estimates started getting packed up. Thus, if 25 per cent was described as the extent of people's participation in any work, the estimates was escalated by a like amount, thus the contractor accounting for people's participation only on paper and deriving the full amount of the cost of construction! Soon the occurrence of the abuse became widespread and the very concept of Shramdan was brought into contempt and gradually abolished. Today, the concept is totally forgotten and its revival has become almost impossible as people have come to expect the government to bear the full share of every possible construction activity.

Too much dependence on government

This was particularly noticed under the major irrigation projects. These projects were constructed by government at heavy cost. Reservoirs were formed by constructing dams across rivers and major distributaries and canals brought water to the villages through channels upto 3 cusec capacity. But even then, irrigation development would not take place because the assumption that the field channels taking off from the 3 cusecs channels constructed by government would be provided by the farmers was not borne out in practice. The farmers expected that even the field channels would be constructed by government. Government

anxious to develop irrigation projects decided to construct the field channels also; thus, once again, abandoning the hopes of people's participation.

After the early brick and mortar emphasis of the community development, the attention shifted to the more demanding programmes of agricultural production. Increasing agricultural production required millions of farmers to participate in the adoption of new technology. This was sought to be done through various methods of agricultural extension. The approach in the initial years was that the new technology would first be communicated to the "leaders" in the farming community or in other words, to the progressive farmers who, it was expected, would then inspire others to follow their example. The progressive farmers were expected to be the multipliers of the modern technology. They were provided with the package of improved practices and services. This approach, however, led to deepening of disparities in the rural society. The large and the well-to-do farmers quickly absorbed the new technology and derived the benefits of the supply of inputs and cheap agricultural credit, while the large majority of small and marginal farmers were left out, thereby increasing the distance between the large and the small and marginal farmers in the rural areas. Soon the government realised that from the point of view of increased agricultural production as from the point of view of justice and equity it was necessary to modify the approach of agricultural extension in order to ensure that the benefits of rural technology and facilities of input and credit are not confined to small group of well-to-do farmers but were extended to large majority of small and marginal farmers. The new approach, therefore, involved an attempt to identify the small and the marginal farmers and bring them in the fold of various programmes of rural development.

'The concept of Shramdan led to two abuses. First the people who were called upon to contribute their labour were the very ones who had nothing but their labour to offer. To expect them alone to contribute their labour amounted to nothing but begar or forced labour....Secondly, even a worse abuse of the concept of Shramdan had crept when in order to accommodate people's participation, the work estimates started getting packed up.'

This was attempted through the small farmers development agencies and the marginal farmers and labour agencies which were recommended by the Rural Credit Review Committee in the year 1966. Under these agencies, the first step after the identification of small and marginal farmers was to enable them to participate in the activities of the co-operatives by enrolling them as members of the co-operative credit institutions. A number of steps were taken to ensure the participation of the small and marginal farmers in the co-operative activities. First, loans were given to enable them to purchase shares in the co-operative societies. Second, a certain percentage of lending was earmarked for the small and marginal farmers.

"The need has now come to make a definite attempt to see that well-to-do sections in the rural society not only do not try to grab the benefits of government's schemes meant for rural poor but themselves contribute their share to the development of those people in rural areas who are below the poverty line. There are many who feel that a voluntary self-denying ordinance can hardly be passed by the affluent sections of the rural society".

Third, about one-fourth to one-third of the loan was given in the shape of subsidy. Fourth, the purposes for which agricultural loans were given were diversified giving greater emphasis to auxiliary occupations like dairy, fishery and sheep-rearing. The new technology being neutral to scale, it was expected that given the measures mentioned above, the small and marginal farmers would be able to participate in agricultural development. To some extent, these expectations have been fulfilled and the share of the small and marginal farmers in the supply of agricultural credit an input has gone up substantially.

There was, however, another section which was completely left out and that was that of the landless labourer. For enabling them to participate in rural development was devised the concept of "Food for Work", now known as of "National Rural Employment Programme." There were many other precursors of the scheme including that of the crash scheme for rural employment; an advanced version is that of the 'Employment Guarantee Scheme' of Maharashtra. These schemes have

ensured that even those families in rural areas who have no assets of their own would be able to earn their purchasing power by working on construction programmes of government in rural areas.

Specific programmes needed

Thus, the original concept which was that of evoking people's participation in a general way in rural development has given way to devising specific programmes for different sections of the rural society to enable them to participate in programmes of rural development

The need has now come to make a definite attempt to see that the well-to-do sections in the rural society not only do not try to grab the benefits of government's schemes meant for the rural poor but themselves contribute their share to the development of those people in rural areas who are below the poverty line. There are many who feel that such a voluntary self-denying ordinance can hardly be passed by the affluent sections of the rural society. They feel that the only way of ensuring the participation of the poor in the rural development programmes is to organise them on a militant basis so that they will assert and get their legitimate share in the additional incomes generated in the rural areas. The rural people could be organised in the shape of militant trade unions. However, such militant organisations would create conflicts in the rural communities. It would also give a setback to rural development generally.

In fact, there are two models which are before us for consideration. One is that of Punjab where modernisation of agriculture or the 'Green Revolution' as it is called, has led to the increased production and prosperity of the farmers or the land-owning classes but also, at the same time, despite mechanisation, has generated greater demand to agricultural labour, as a result of which not only has local labour started getting high wages but even outside labour from distant Bihar and Eastern U.P. have migrated to Punjab to take advantage of the demand for agricultural labour at higher wages. On the other hand, trade union type of activity organised amongst the agricultural labour in Allepey District in Kerala has only led to stultification of the

progress of agricultural development. We can only commend the Punjab model rather than the Kerala model because, in the ultimate analysis, all-round prosperity in rural areas can only come about as a result of all-round increase in agricultural production and productivity. Trade unionism would only create rigidities. On the other hand,

'In some academic circles, there is a tendency to look with scepticism at all such attempts since they feel that bureaucracy is hardly the instrument to bring about social and economic change in rural areas. However, as things stand today, the only instrument which can act as agent of change in rural areas is bureaucracy'.

A deliberate attempt to extend technology, services and credit to the poorer people in rural areas through co-operatives and other organisations is bound to lead to more equitable development.

Bureaucracy as change-agent

In some academic circles, there is a tendency to look with scepticism at all such attempts since they feel that bureaucracy is hardly the instrument to bring about social and economic change in rural areas. However, as things stand today, the only instrument which can act as agent of change in rural areas is bureaucracy in the shape of thousands of village level workers, extension agents, employees of co-operative institutions, bank employees etc. Institutions like cooperative credit institutions, co-operative dairies, cooperative marketing, societies, regional rural banks, agricultural branches of commercial banks and people working in these institutions can surely bring about a change in the shape of greater participation of the rural poor in various development programmes.

The panchayati Raj institutions conceived as principal agencies of rural development were set up at three tiers in the year 1959, following the recommendations of the Balwantrai Mehta Committee Report. In the initial years, there was an euphoria in favour of these institutions. It was felt that the elected representatives of the people in the

panchayati raj institutions namely village pachayats, samitis and zila parishads would kindly popular enthusiasm and participation in rural development. These earlier expectations, however, soon gave way to frustration when panchayati raj institutions seemed to be involved in local factions and became centres of power struggle rather than instruments of rural development. Also, the politicians at the state level stated looking at panchayati raj institutions as rival centres of power. Their growth, therefore, was stifled by various state governments who refused to hold elections to these bodies and allowed them to remain in a state of suspended animation. No wonder that the Asoka Mehta Committee found the panchayati raj institutions in a moribund state but despite this, they did recommend the revival of panchayati raj institutions. Recently, steps have been taken by some of the state governments to hold elections to the panchayati raj institutions. This is move in the right direction.

There is no doubt that in a large country like India, rural local government institutions have to emerge as the institutions of grass-root planning and development. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru had great faith in the panchayati raj institutions, since he felt that these were the institutions which were nearer to the rural people. What is, therefore, needed today, once again, is to give a new fillip of planning and development at grass-root level through the revival and strengthening of panchayati raj institutions. The General Body of the village Panchayat known as Gram Sabha should taken seriously. The rural people of India have long traditions of self-government which should be revived. Several schemes of development like social forestry or developing local water resurces or making economic use of water resources through scientific techniques of water management or programmes like dairy development could best be promoted through the agency of panchayati raj institutions. What is needed, is to once again revive the old spirit of rural development as the voluntary and spontaneous movement of the people, but this time the people, essentially should be the poorer sections of the rural society.

